

4th July 1952]

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" The answer is given in the statement itself. The quantum of power that is generated will not be affected."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" My question has not been answered. By reducing the height, the storage capacity of the dam will be considerably affected. Is the Hon. Minister aware of this? "

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" But, Sir, what is the inference to be drawn from the question, I would like to know."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I will answer, Sir. If the Hon. Minister is aware of what is happening in Pykara dam for want of sufficient water, he will understand it. When the storage capacity is reduced, sometimes the generation of power is affected. That is why a dam of a greater height is provided. I am asking the Hon. Minister to go into the question and see whether it is not possible to provide silt ventilators or sluices and whether the reduction of the height of the dam is not merely a ruse to reduce the capacity of the Machkund Hydro electricity scheme."

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" The answer has been given in the statement itself, namely, that the quantum of power generated will not be affected."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Have the Government asked their engineers to find out alternative methods for preventing undue silting, and, if so, what are the results? "

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" There is no need to ask the engineer to investigate this question. When a difficulty presents itself, it will be examined by the engineer himself, and he will provide the necessary answer."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Was it the advice of a single engineer or was this discussed by a panel of engineers? "

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" Notice."

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II.—GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1952-53.

MR. SPEAKER :—" Who is going to speak first? "

(Sri R. V. Swaminathan was seen standing in his place.)

MR. SPEAKER :—" Sri R. V. Swaminathan will speak."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak on this budget as a victorious man of a victorious party under a victorious leader. Yesterday this House gave its verdict in favour of our party by 200 votes. By 200 votes we expressed our confidence in the Ministry. For the last four days, we have been listening to the various speeches made by members on the other side. We were sitting on this side exercising great self-restraint and

[Sri R. V. Swaminathan]

[4th July 1952]

listening to the malicious attacks and violent attacks made by Members opposite. I know you, Mr. Speaker, for the last six or seven years. You are very generous, and I know you will never tolerate any irrelevance and nonsensical utterances."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" Sir, the hon. Member is saying that you will not allow any nonsensical utterances. Is it in order for the hon. Member to say that nonsensical utterances were made in this House."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" On a point of order, Sir. May I know what is happening now, whether budget discussion has started or whether the hon. Member is asking for information or incidentally abusing us? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" Let the hon. Member come to the Budget."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—" Sir, on this budget discussion, I want to place certain facts before the House. The Hon. Chief Minister and the Government know what they should do and what my attitude to the budget is. Yesterday, it was stated by a member of the T.N.T. party . . . "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I am sorry to interrupt, Sir. I am embarrassed and am unable to understand what is going on. Has the budget discussion started, and if so, the hon. Member should know that it is the custom and the convention to allow the opposite side to begin the discussion."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Nobody from the Opposition side rose in his seat, and therefore, I allowed the hon. Member Mr. Swaminathan to speak. If any Member from the Opposition side wants to speak, I have no objection."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—" The Hon. the Finance Minister has stated that to meet the deficit, he proposes to bring in some taxation measures. One of them is a surcharge on land. I want the Government to consider whether the surcharge proposed to be levied on land is just. My point is that the exemption limit of Rs. 50 is too low. This will affect ryots who own four or five acres. This limit of Rs. 50 should be raised. So far as land reforms are concerned, the previous Government appointed a committee called the Subrahmanyam Committee, and their report is with the Government. The Minister for Revenue mentioned that the Government were considering land reform proposals. I do not know whether they are going to bring in a comprehensive legislation. This question has been before the country for a very long time. It must be settled once and for all. As regards agricultural production, we must adopt new methods of agriculture. For more production of food, we must use mechanized equipment. Hitherto farmers were getting subsidies for sinking wells. The Government now tell us that they are not getting any contribution from the Government of India towards well subsidies, and therefore, they have stopped the well subsidies. The well subsidy schemes have

4th July 1952] [Sri R. V. Swaminathan]

done very much to help the poor ryots. There are no irrigation facilities in many districts, especially in Ramanathapuram. The well subsidy schemes have helped people to sink wells and use well water for cultivation. Therefore, well subsidy schemes are very necessary, and I hope this Government will reconsider their decision, even though the Central Government have stopped their contribution. The Government were paying attention to land reforms in the zamindari areas. They were paying attention to tank repairs and minor irrigation schemes. Now they have stopped their tank repair schemes and minor irrigation works in those areas. Without repairing the tanks, what benefit will the ryots in zamindari areas get? It is quite true that on account of the abolition of zamindaris, the burden of heavy taxation has been greatly reduced, and rights over land have been given to the tenants. But, without proper irrigation facilities, how are the ryots to raise their crops? Therefore, I say that the tank repair schemes should not be stopped. The ryots, if they are to be helped, should be given all irrigation facilities.

"Coming to the Zamindari Abolition Act, Sir, I know that many zamindars and inamdars are trying to bypass this Act. They went to the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court declared that the Act was quite legal. Now these zamindars and inamdars are trying to find loopholes in the Act, and they want to harass the ryots. The Government should, therefore, examine the Act again and if they find any loopholes, I hope, they will take suitable steps to rectify them.

"The Government also stated that inams would be abolished. 9 a.m. But so far it has not been done. I would request the Government to consider the question of bringing an inam abolition legislation before this House.

"Sir, the Ramanathapuram district is a backward district and time and again we have been impressing upon the Government that they should come forward with new irrigation schemes for that area. We suggested the possibility of having a big irrigation scheme with the help of the Kallar which flows from the Western Ghats, adjoining the Periyar river. I understand the previous Government examined this scheme and found that the river belonged to the Travancore State which stood in the way. I want to request this Government to take up the matter and examine the feasibility of the scheme. It is a very important scheme and if it is executed, it will irrigate almost the whole of the Ramanathapuram district. It has also been investigated by a Special Development Officer appointed by the previous Government and he has submitted a report to the Government. Time and again, we have been impressing on the Government that Ramanathapuram district is a very backward district affected by famine as Rayalaseema. In fact, there is famine now in certain parts of the Ramanathapuram district. Now, I want to know what happened to the report submitted to the Government by the Development Officer who investigated the matter. I am not aware whether the previous Government considered that report, and I do not know whether the present

[Sri R. V. Swaminathan]

[4th July 1952]

Government are going to consider it and implement any of the suggestions made therein. The Development Officer has suggested in his report that the Kallar Scheme is a very big scheme and he has also made mention of many minor irrigation schemes. Government should consider them also and see how far they can help the people of the Ramanathapuram district.

“ So far as the backward communities are concerned, nothing has been stated in the budget speech of the Hon. the Finance Minister about what he is going to do for them. We pressed before the previous Government the claims of backward communities and as a result, they came forward with scholarships to backward class students. In the first year, that is, in 1949, they set apart Rs. 1 lakh for this purpose, in the next year it was somewhere between Rs. 2.5 lakhs and Rs. 5 lakhs, and last year it was Rs. 7.5 lakhs. Even that sum of Rs. 7.5 lakhs is not sufficient. The backward communities constitute a very big community. They have been neglected in this country for a long time and even now students belonging to these communities are not able to get scholarships from the Government. The Harijan Welfare Officer says that the sum of Rs. 7.5 lakhs is not sufficient even to meet the scholarships that have been given to the students previously. I want to place before the Government that the return of the T.N.T. party in the elections is not due to any political ideologies they represent but, as the leader of the T.N.T. party, Sri Ramaswami Padayachi, stated here the other day, it is because the interests of the backward communities were neglected by the Government. I request the Hon. the Chief Minister and other Hon. Ministers who are in charge of this matter to consider this question and come forward with ameliorative measures. If they do so, the T.N.T. party will disappear and merge in the Congress Party. (Interruption.) I do not think anything stands in the way of their joining the Congress Party. I want the Government to have a separate department for formulating ameliorative measures for the backward communities. In other States, there are separate Ministers to look after the interests of backward communities. Why not this Government also do the same thing here?

“ With regard to land reforms, this Government should give special consideration to the Subrahmanyam Committee Report. There are some good points in it and alternative suggestions also are made in that report on which hon. Members will offer their remarks. I think the Subrahmanyam Committee has considered whether land tax should be abolished and, in the alternative, it says agricultural income-tax should be imposed. Though it has not recommended it to this Government, I think this was considered by the Committee and I would like the Government to examine whether it is a feasible suggestion. I think in many parts of the world, there is no tax on land as such. The Government impose a tax on the basis of income. If a ryot has got income, he pays; if he has no income, he does not pay anything to the Government. In other fields, if a man has got an annual

4th July 1952] [Sri R. V. Swaminathan]

income below Rs. 3,000, he is not paying any tax to the Government. But an agriculturist, even if he owns one acre with an income of Rs. 50, is forced to pay a tax to the Government. Why should he pay? Is it a sin to be born as a farmer in this country? This is a matter which the Government should go into. The Government have come into power only recently and there is ample time to consider this point.

" The Subrahmanyam Committee has also made its suggestions about the grant of fixity of tenure to the tiller of the soil. It is true, as was said, that in some parts of our State the landless workers are being evicted from their lands. This is a question which the Government should consider and they should not dismiss the suggestion simply because it came first from the Opposition Benches. I want the Government to enquire into the matter and, if there is any truth in the wholesale eviction of tenants, they should come forward with a new legislation to protect the tenants.

" With regard to the problem of land, besides the abolition of the land tax, the Government should also find out a lasting solution. Even in England, the Government have got a scheme of taking over big estates on payment of compensation, dividing them into small economic holdings and distributing them to the landless poor for cultivation. I am not making any impossible suggestions by quoting what is happening in Russia. But I am making a feasible proposal. In England, the Government have acquired a thousand or two thousand acres on payment of compensation to the owners thereof, divided them into small holdings of 10 or 15 acres each, and distributed them among the landless poor asking them to pay rent and tax to the Government. In this way the Government are giving all facilities for the improvement of agriculture. Our Government here could also consider this question.

" So far as the districts where there are no irrigation facilities are concerned, I would like the Government to exempt them from the payment of surcharge on land tax, if they cannot raise the exemption limit from Rs. 50. In places like Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli where there are irrigation facilities, the people pay a water cess and are able to get water and raise more crops than others. Therefore, they get double or treble income as compared with people in districts where there are no irrigation facilities. Because of this, they can afford to pay a tax to the Government. But in other places the people have to depend on rain water and many a time there is failure of monsoon. In such circumstances, how are the Government justified in asking them to pay a surcharge on land tax? In this connexion, the Government may also consider the suggestion whether they should levy the surcharge only on particular persons—who get double income or more compared to others. Where there is no income, because a person is paying a tax to the Government, he should not be asked to pay a surcharge. I would like to submit that already there is double taxation on lands. Whenever the District Boards want to raise funds, they think of the poor farmers. Similarly whenever we make suggestions to the Government for the provision of some

[Sri R. V. Swaminathan] [4th July 1952]

amenity or other, they want to find some funds. No doubt they will have to impose some tax but they think of taxing the poor ryots only. Unfortunately the poor farmers do not know what to do. I would, therefore, request the Government not to tax these poor people. The Government may particularly consider the question of exempting people in areas like the Ramanathapuram district from the payment of this surcharge.

"Now, I want to say a few words about my own constituency, namely, Sivaganga. This is one of the backward constituencies in the Ramanathapuram district. Here there is a firka named Kaliarkovil. There is no road within a radius of 20 miles from there. There are no hospitals and the village is left even without drinking water facilities. These matters were represented to us by the people during the elections. The people said, 'Whatever malicious propaganda the Opposition Parties may carry on against the Government, we are not shaken. Still we have faith and belief in the Congress. We shall cast our votes in favour of the Congress. But please help us by requesting the Government to provide us good roads, schools and hospitals.' No doubt, under the Rural Welfare Scheme, the Government are trying to dig wells here and there. But that is not sufficient. I would like here to make a suggestion to the Government. They are now embarking on Community Projects. I hope that they will help the poor ryots. I would request the Government to extend this scheme to the Ramanathapuram district also. I really do not know how the Government forgot the Ramanathapuram district while they thought of community projects, in spite of the Development Officer's suggestion of a scheme for our district. If they are not going to extend this scheme to the Ramanathapuram district, I request the Government at least to extend the firka development scheme to the Kaliarkovil firka, as was stated by the Hon. the Chief Minister the other day. Before extending the firka development scheme to that firka, they can very well call for a report from the Collector to know how backward it is and how it has been neglected for years together.

"Sir, I place all these suggestions before the Hon. the Finance Minister and support the Budget that has been presented."

9-15
a.m.

* SRI PRAGADA KOTIAH :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to offer certain specific suggestions with regard to the handloom industry and also other matters connected with my constituency. No doubt, the Government have recognized the acute distress facing the handloom weavers in this State. It was also pointed out that stocks of handloom cloth manufactured with high priced yarn have accumulated with weavers and Weavers Co-operative Societies in large quantities and they are unable to sell them at competitive rates in the open market where there is a glut of cheaper mill cloth. But the Government cannot disown their responsibility for this bad state of affairs. While the mills are utilizing cheaper yarn spun out of Indian cotton, handloom weavers are forced to utilize yarn spun out of foreign cotton at

4th July 1952]

[Sri Pragada Kotaiah]

abnormally high rates. The Union Government as well as the State Government do not pay any heed to the repeated requests of the handloom weavers to reduce the price of yarn in proportion to the fall in the prices of cotton. The price of cotton has been falling since March 1952. But the Government of India curiously enough have increased the price of yarn twice during the past four weeks. On June 1st, they increased the price of yarn by 5 to 9 per cent and some three days back they again increased the price of yarn by 5 to 11 per cent. This is how the Government are helping the handloom industry, particularly, at this juncture. No doubt, the Madras Government have taken certain steps. They have formed a High Power Committee to go into this question and I happen to be one of the Members of this Committee. At first, they wanted the High Power Committee to go into the question of considering the ways and means to find a market for the accumulated stocks of the Primary Weavers' Co-operative Societies and also of the weavers outside the co-operative fold. But during the discussion, this suggestion was thrown out and the Committee was asked to suggest measures to help the handloom weavers who have been unemployed on account of the present accumulation of stocks. Then, the High Power Committee had to agree to the relief scheme prepared by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies. This relief scheme is after all an eye-wash. Because, there is no provision in this scheme for the marketing of the accumulated stocks with the Primary Weavers' Co-operative Societies, with the State Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society and with the weavers outside the co-operative fold. Also, no provision is made to secure adequate supply of yarn and to provide continuous full employment to the weavers working under the relief scheme.

" There is another thing. The handloom weavers are paid only a starving wage of six annas per knot. A weaver working on a loom is getting a very low wage. For instance, a man, his wife and at least two other people, who depend on the loom, are required to be content with the meagre earnings of Rs. 15 per month. The High Power Committee could have agreed to extend this temporary relief scheme to weavers in places where there are no co-operative societies. But the scheme, curiously enough, omitted this provision. I want that at least this temporary measure of relief should be extended to weavers in places where there are no co-operative societies and by granting interest-free loans towards share capital, they must be enabled to organize themselves into co-operative societies. When I raised the question as to what steps the Government have taken to adequately meet the financial requirements of the Primary Weavers' Co-operative Societies, the Hon. Minister, Sri Sanjeevayya said that there was the relief scheme approved by the High Power Committee. I am sorry there are many Weavers Co-operative Societies which are reluctant to work the relief scheme on account of the starvation wages that have been fixed. The Government must help these societies to secure adequate financial help. In fact, the Central

[Sri Pragada Kotaiah]

[4th July 1952]

Banks have been refusing to finance the Primary Weavers' Co-operative Societies even according to the provisions of their by-laws. There are certain Central Banks, for instance, the Guntur Central Bank, the Kakinada Central Bank and some other Central Banks, that are refusing to grant cash credit to these Primary Weavers' Co-operative Societies on the ground that losses are likely to occur in the societies or on the ground that those banks have no adequate finances. In these circumstances, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies has been compelling them to invest their reserve fund and other funds in the Central Land Mortgage Bank in the form of debentures. This is really a very unsatisfactory and unfortunate state of affairs. While these co-operative societies are suffering for want of adequate finances, the Registrar is coming forward to compel them to invest their funds in the form of debentures in the Central Land Mortgage Bank.

With regard to marketing, the Government can certainly do a lot to help these weavers. I do not know the actual figures of the value of cloth purchased by the State Government. But, the State Government can purchase a major portion of their textile requirements from the handloom market. But all on a sudden, the Inspector-General of Police or the Director of Fire Services Stations or the Conservator of Forests will come forward and say that the handloom products are not suitable for the uniform of the police department or for the uniform of some other departmental people. I may state that these specifications and these varieties were fixed in the past to suit the convenience of the Lancashire and Manchester Mills and not to suit the convenience of the handloom weavers in India. The present standards and specifications were fixed in olden days according to the suitability of the power-looms and the textile mills. Therefore, I should mention here that the Government of Madras as well as the Union Government should revise the specifications of their various textile requirements to get them produced conveniently on handlooms. Then only they can create a permanent internal market for a considerable portion of the handloom goods. With regard to the marketing of the handloom goods in overseas markets, the Madras Government have got a greater responsibility. Because, it is in Madras that the exportable varieties are being produced which have got greater demand and reputation in overseas markets. Therefore, it is the primary duty of the Madras Government to send some trade delegations or some officers with expert knowledge of the handloom industry to foreign countries to extend the present marketing facilities and also to explore the possibilities of marketing handloom goods on a large scale in the overseas markets.

Sir, very recently the Union Government permitted the export of yarn, particularly coarse and medium yarn spun out of Indian cotton, to foreign countries. We have been urging for a very long time that the handloom industry should be supplied with yarn spun out of Indian cotton. At the present time, the mills are, with the permission of the Government of India, exporting all

4th July 1952]

[Sri Pragada Kotaiah]

the coarse and medium counts of yarn required by the handloom industry in large quantities to foreign countries, and the high-priced yarn alleged to have been spun with an admixture of foreign cotton, is being supplied to the handloom industry. The permission to export yarn will affect this State's handloom industry in another way. Countries like Burma, Ceylon, China, Malaya and Indonesia have been hitherto taking the handloom products of this country. Now, when they are permitted to import cheap yarn from our country, they will naturally stop importing handloom products.

A word of caution is also necessary at this juncture. The State and Union Governments during recent years permitted the installation of powerlooms in the textile mills—both composite mills and weaving mills—without any corresponding increase in the number of spindles. Formerly, there were 100 spindles working per powerloom in a textile mill. But this number has fallen to 50 per loom. Therefore it is the primary duty of the Government to prohibit the installation of powerlooms in the weaving and composite mills. Steps must be taken to decentralize the spinning industry by encouraging weavers' co-operative societies to instal some small-scale spinning units to be run on a cottage industry basis. If necessary, the Government can appoint an expert committee to go into this question.

There is a Textile Institute run by the Government. What has it been doing all these years? It has been producing weaving instructors who go and get employed in district board high schools. But it is not doing any research work and helping the handloom weavers to get new designs. These designs can be produced with the assistance of barrel and lattice dobbies. Intricate designs at less cost can be produced easily with these implements. Again, the Institute is not imparting instruction in the art of dyeing. I suggest that some research stations may be located in all important weaving centres in the State and some looms installed therein. I want that dyeing and printing sections should be opened in the research stations and the weavers must be given training in the art of handloom weaving, in the preparation of designs, in the manufacture of designs and in the art of dyeing and printing.

9-30
a.m.

Then, Sir, the Government must consider the question of giving adequate protection to the handloom industry against the competition of the mills. There is always this disadvantage for the weavers. The mills spin their own yarn and thus yarn is available to them at the production cost. But the handloom weavers are required to pay some 25 or 35 per cent over and above the production price. There is, therefore, the natural competition. The Madras Handloom Committee has already recommended that all varieties of cloth of widths between 40 and 48 inches should be reserved for the handloom industry. I also suggest that the production of sarees should be reserved exclusively for the handloom industry. I hope Government will take steps in this direction.

I would like to say a few words on the taxation proposals of the Government. I suggest that the surcharge proposed to be

[Sri Pragada Kotaiah]

[4th July 1952]

levied on passengers travelling by buses should be modified. There should be first of all no direct taxation on the passengers. There may be an indirect taxation on the passengers by requiring bus owners to pay taxes. The passengers are already paying heavy rates, particularly in areas, where there is no rail communication. The authorized rate is five pies per mile, whereas they actually pay eight pies per mile in certain places. The proposal should, therefore, be modified so as to avoid a further burden on the passenger.

"The Government want to levy a surcharge on land revenue. They want to levy it on a ryot paying a land revenue of over Rs. 50. This limit must be raised to Rs. 100. As regards the dry areas, we cannot expect that the dry lands will yield regular income. When raising the limit, the Government must consider the position of the ryots in dry areas. I would also suggest that the Government may levy heavy taxes on producers of commercial crops, particularly, of tobacco.

"I would next come to minor irrigation projects. These have to be attended to immediately. In my constituency, the work on the Romperu drainage scheme was started long ago and I do not know when it is likely to be completed. The Government should take immediate steps to complete the work. There are several thousands of acres of land both on the east and west of the Romperu drain. Now most of these lands are uncultivated. Several poor people are clamouring for these lands. Several landlords and some co-operative societies also want them. But there is no uniform policy. The Government must adopt a settled plan as to how to distribute this waste land covering about 30,000 acres. I suggest that the landless labourers should be organized into co-operative societies and the lands assigned to them. I also suggest that where lands have been given to political sufferers who were already landlords, they should be taken back and given to landless people.

"The Government have given certain concessions to teachers in the aided schools. I suggest that these concessions be extended to the other employees of the institutions also. Some of the employees—clerk and others—get less pay than the teachers themselves and therefore, the same concessions as are given to the teachers should be given to the other members of the staff.

"Sir, I find in this Budget showing an expenditure of nearly Rs. 64 crores, not even two lakhs have been set apart for the handloom industry. But I am very thankful to the Finance Minister who has devoted nearly one page of his Budget speech for the handloom industry. We are often assured by the Government, both Central and State, that they would safeguard the interests of the cottage industries, which are providing employment, either part-time or full-time, to a large section of the people. It is admitted by all that the handloom industry is one such industry which is capable of providing employment to millions of people in the country provided the Government are sincere in their attempt to give protection to the industry. While granting loans under the

4th July 1952]

[Sri Pragada Kotaiah]

State Aid to Industries Act, the Government have been giving several lakhs and several crores of rupees to the large-scale mechanized industries, which are unable to provide employment even for a lakh of people. But this major cottage industry, also a national industry, has not received any financial help under the subsidiary rules made under the provisions of the Act. The Government have also fixed that Rs. 500 shall be the maximum that can be given to a cottage industrialist. The Government should reconsider the whole thing and see that the cottage industries also get adequate financial help from the Government under the State Aid to Industries Act.

Coming to weavers' co-operative societies, the Government have allotted a lakh of rupees for the State Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society. About 250,000 handlooms are working in the primary societies and, according to the Registrar, each handloom is required to possess a financial accommodation of at least Rs. 200 to have continuous employment. But the Government have come forward with only one lakh of rupees. With this sum, I do not know how the Government are going to help the weavers' co-operatives. The Government, therefore, should consider the question of bringing into existence a Cottage Industries Corporation which will be of immense help to the cottage industries, in the matter of providing adequate finance. The Government are not helping the handloom weavers but are granting Rs. 3,000 to the agricultural co-operative credit societies and the loan and sale co-operative societies for the construction of village halls and godowns. I suggest that this help may be extended to the primary weavers' co-operative societies which are required to store handloom cloth and yarn. I also suggest that the supervision fee now levied on handloom weavers' co-operative societies should be removed. The Government should also exempt the primary weavers' societies from the payment of audit fees for this year at least, as the societies are likely to run into losses this year on account of the slump in the handloom cloth trade.

Lastly, Sir, I come to sales tax. While introducing the General Sales Tax Act in 1937, the Government exempted handloom cloth and yarn from its operation in order to help the handloom industry to fight the competition of the cheaper mill-made goods. In 1947, the Sales Tax Act was made to cover yarn and handloom cloth also. I suggest to the Government that the sales tax now levied on these two should be given up."

SRI K. V. RAMESAM :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, my impression about the Budget is that it is most unimaginative, lacking initiative and everything else. It is not in consonance with the needs of a growing society. It seeks to impose fresh taxes on the rural population which mainly depends on agriculture. The crying need of the hour is how to increase the food production of the country. The budget proposals are intended to secure more money by imposing surcharge on lands, i.e., on the existing assessments. This will only put a stop to the desire of increasing production

[Sri K. V. Ramesam]

[4th July 1952]

on the part of the agriculturists. In this connexion, I would like to suggest some methods by which it will be possible for the State to improve the finances. Before I go into that aspect of the question, I would like to place before the House one important fact and that is that there will be no warrant for the apprehension that there will be a deficit, if retrenchment is effected in certain spheres of Governmental activities.

9.45 a.m. " During the discussion of the Budget last time, the then Finance Minister gave indications that there was a possibility of effecting some retrenchment in the police administration. Hon. Members are aware that the expenditure under this department has doubled during the last four or five years. This was necessitated, according to the statements of the Government, by the fact that there was the Communist menace. Now that the Communists have eschewed violence from their party politics, Government could cut down expenditure under this head to a considerable extent. In view of the revised policy of the Communists, Government need not apprehend danger from that party. According to budget figures a sum of Rs. 7½ crores has been set apart for this department. When the British Government was in charge of the administration of the country, the amount allotted to this department was only Rs. 4½ crores. This shows the enormous increase in the expenditure on police administration. Particularly when we have obtained our freedom and are enjoying it, and when the Communists have changed their policy, there is vast scope for retrenchment under the head 'Police Administration'.

" Another suggestion I would like to make for reduction of expenditure on administration is that Government should abolish or at least amend the policy adopted by them in regard to enforcement of Prohibition Laws. If prohibition is abolished, there will be a saving of the crores of rupees that are now spent for the maintenance of the prohibition enforcement staff. This is advocated by several Members of this House and it is admitted on all hands that prohibition is a failure, and it cannot be enforced as desired by the protagonists of this policy. When there is no chance of its successful enforcement and of the achievement of the desired aim, is it not desirable to put an end to that policy especially when it is a great burden to the tax-payer in other spheres? My view is that if this policy of prohibition is given up, it will at least relieve us from the responsibility of maintaining the prohibition staff and save the Government from incurring a huge expenditure on this account. At least they can levy a licence fee on people who want to drink when it is evident that the policy of prohibition is a failure, and the evil cannot be eradicated. If a licence fee is levied on those addicted to drink, that would bring in a large income to the State. It has already been suggested in the Budget proposals to increase the licensing fees on foreign liquors. I would, therefore, like to suggest the imposition of a licence fee on all persons who are addicted to drink, which would fetch a large income to the

4th July 1952]

[Sri K. V. Ramesam]

State and would save a lot of unnecessary trouble to the taxpayers. In this way we can to a great extent minimise the deficit which is anticipated to be Rs. 359 lakhs.

"In regard to the proposal to increase the bus fares, I would request the Government to reconsider their proposal. It will hit the general public hard, particularly the rural folk. I would suggest here methods by which we could easily realize greater income from these buses. There are a number of bus routes throughout this State and if these are auctioned, I am sure there will be tremendous competition for them. Even in such small places as Anakapalle and Chodavaram, bus routes are sold for huge sums of Rs. 4,000 and Rs. 5,000. There are many other important routes in my own district and if these are auctioned, the deficit that is anticipated can very easily be made up and the hardship that would be caused to the passengers by the levy of surcharge on bus fares could be removed.

"Again, I feel, Sir, it would be inconvenient to enforce the proposal to increase the bus fare by a pie for every mile and collect the levy from the bus owners. They may evade the levy imposed on bus fares and thus we may not get the anticipated revenue from this levy. The hatred of the public against this levy alone will remain. To remove all these difficulties the best method seems to me to be to auction the bus routes. This would certainly fetch a large revenue to the State to cover the deficit.

"I have already submitted, Sir, that the incidence of taxation is already heavy on the poor agriculturist. Here I make a distinction between the urban and the rural population, for most of the amenities of civic life are enjoyed by the urban people. The rural people are denied these amenities. For instances, in the matter of sanitation, public health, education and in all spheres of human activity, we find a total neglect of the interest of the rural folk. Most of the revenue derived by the State is coming from the rural parts, and yet there is a total neglect of the welfare of the rural population though it is often said on the platform that steps would be taken to increase the prosperity of the rural folk. I submit it is high time that the attention of the Government is turned to this aspect, namely, that rural life should be bettered. There should be more schools in villages. It is admitted on all hands that there is any amount of illiteracy in the backward areas of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam and the number of schools now existing is quite inadequate. I submit more attention should be paid to develop the literary faculties of the people in the backward areas. Additional grants must be provided for this in the Budget.

"So far as drinking water is concerned, I can say that in many taluks in these districts there is hardly any drinking water, and they are almost as dry as the taluks of Rayalaseema districts are. Greater provision should be made for the supply of drinking water in most of the taluks.

"The handloom weavers of my district are suffering. I have some interest in them, and I know that the weavers are unable

[Sri K. V. Ramesam]

[4th July 1952]

to earn even Re. 0-8-0 per head per day at the present rate of supply of yarn and the wages given to them. On an average a weaver cannot earn more than Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 a month. The facilities provided for the industry in the district are very meagre. The co-operative societies do not receive regular supply of yarn necessary for the weavers and, as a result, there is unemployment and starvation among weavers. The plight of the societies also is miserable, for the price of yarn has increased, and there is no market for the high-priced cloth woven by them. Therefore, it is desirable that the stock now lying with the societies should be subsidized, and Government must find a way to dispose of the stocks and provide funds to make good the loss that might be incurred by the societies. In this connexion the previous speaker referred to the necessity to remove sales tax on handloom cloth. I submit it is absolutely necessary to remove sales tax on cloth woven by co-operative societies in order to give a fillip to the sale of cloth woven by them. This is very necessary in the interest of the rural population.

10
a.m. " Then I would like to say a few words on irrigation in general. The Zamindari Abolition Act was passed in 1948 and actually the estates were taken over on the 7th September 1949, and ever since, I wish to bring to the notice of the Government, myself being a resident of a zamindari area, the Government have totally neglected even the minimum annual repairs which were formerly being taken up by the zamindars. The zamindars in anticipation of this legislation neglected repairs prior to 1948. The Government neglected the repairs after taking over those estates. Even silt clearance which is so essential for irrigation is neglected. On the other hand, so far as Visakhapatnam district is concerned, the rent reduction proceedings are going on. I know in most of the holdings, the rent ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 70 per acre. Besides, the land-cess which was formerly borne both by the zamindar and the tenant, is now being paid entirely by the tenant after the abolition of the zamindaris and the reduction that was granted in the rents under the rent reduction proceedings is nullified with the result that now an acre of land is bearing an annual assessment of about Rs. 20. According to the budget proposals, the Government are going to impose a surcharge on the assessment which, I submit, under the present state of things is already very heavy in the zamindari areas. By the imposition of this surcharge, the burden will be heavier and the ryots will certainly suffer. Therefore, it is very necessary, particularly in the zamindari areas, that there should be no surcharge until all the irrigation works are at least completely repaired. Several representations have been made to the Government for not imposing the water-cess on the second crops as the ryots are not able to get all the irrigation facilities. But the revenue officers are collecting the water-cess. Therefore, I submit that the water-cess and the surcharge now proposed, are not justified especially in the zamindari areas where the irrigation works are not in good condition. I would request the Government not to levy the surcharge until all the irrigation works are repaired.

4th July 1952]

[Sri K. V. Ramesam]

“ With regard to minor irrigation works, I find that practically no provision has been made for the improvement of minor irrigation works in the Visakhapatnam district. Our districts has no big project like the Mettur or the Krishna-Pennar. The only source of water is from the hill streams that flow across the district, and it should not be very difficult for the Government to dam the small rivers and conserve the water which is now flowing into the sea. If only the Government take up schemes for conserving all the water by constructing reservoirs wherever necessary, the district which is now deficit will become surplus as far as food is concerned, and it will be a great boon to the agricultural population. I, therefore, submit that sufficient provision should be made in the Budget for improving the irrigation facilities in my district where agriculture is the main occupation of the people.

“ Again, Sir, the system of giving half grant is sought to be introduced as a sort of fillip to the ryots to take up minor irrigation works. In the present state of things when the agriculturists are so very poor, it is not a sufficient inducement for the ryots to contribute half the cost. Therefore the proposal in the Budget that those who are prepared to bear half the cost of the work will be given the other half is certainly a great hardship as their economic position is not sound enough to advance half the cost that is necessary for the improvement of the irrigation work. Therefore, Sir, so far as my district is concerned, the idea of half grant has to be dropped and the proportion of the Government grant should be increased.

“ Then, Sir, my district supplies jaggery to more than half of the State and the price has fallen by Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 1-14-0 per maund with the result the agriculturists are tremendously affected and they are not able to realize even the cost of production. Some relief is urgently required and, therefore, the ryots had to approach the Government for fixing minimum fair price for jaggery. On the other hand the Government have fixed a ceiling price with the result that the trader and the merchant are benefited and not the ryot who produces the commodity. Therefore, in the interests of the ryots who produce this essential commodity, the Government should give some protection by way of fixing minimum fair price for jaggery. The sugarcane growers also are affected by the steep fall in the price of jaggery, in that the money-lenders and other banks are not giving the credit facilities to the tenants as before and they are now in the hands of unscrupulous creditors. Suits have been filed by the creditors against several tenants who took loans in the previous season. I, therefore, submit, Sir, that it is highly necessary to provide more grants to give loans to the ryots and save the jaggery industry from ruin. The present Land Mortgage Bank, Urban Co-operative Banks and Rural Credit Societies are not giving sufficient financial help to the ryots. As I said at the outset, there are no big irrigation projects in my district and the main occupation of the people is agriculture. Till now no attempt has been made to investigate the sub-soil water streams in my district. In South Arcot and other districts, several artesian

[Sri K. V. Ramesam]

[4th July 1952]

wells have been dug and the agricultural population is immensely benefited by them. I would request the Government to investigate the availability of sub-soil water streams in Visakhapatnam district and dig artesian wells to supply more water for the agriculturists.

"In conclusion, I appeal to the Government to consider the opening of a Polytechnic Institute in Visakhapatnam for the benefit of the people in my district. I have already brought to the notice of the Government that there was an offer of a contribution of about Rs. 2.0 lakhs from the people of Anakapalle and that there should be no difficulty for the Government to open an Institute. I again appeal to the Government to consider our request. With these few words, Sir, I conclude."

10-15
a.m.

* SRI A. S. SAHAJANANDAM :—"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தை முதல் முதலில் பூரண சுயராஜ்யம் அடைந்த பிறகு சனம் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் கொண்டுவந்தார். அவர்க்கு நன்றி பாராட்டுகிறேன். மிகவும் கஷ்டப்பட்டுத்தான் இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தை சரிக் கட்டி இரக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால், ஒவ்வொரு ஆண்டிலும் கனம் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் பிரச்சாரம் செய்யும் காலத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு இன்னது செய் தோமென்றும், எதாவது புதிதாக வேலைகள் செய்வதாக இருந்தால் அதைச் செய்வோமென்றும் குறிப்பிட்டிருப்பார். இந்த அண்டில் கனம் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் வாயில் ஹரிஜனங்கள் விஷயமாக ஒரு வார்த்தையும் வர வில்லை. அப்படியே நமது முசுல்மந்திரி அவர்கள் கவுன்சிலில் நிதி விஷயமாக பேசினபோது கூட ஹரிஜனங்களைப் பற்றி ஒரு வார்த்தை கூட சொல்லவில்லை. ஆகவே, இந்த அரசாங்கம் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு என்ன செய்யப் போகிறது என்பதே தெரியாமல் இருக்கிறது. 1937-ம் ஆண்டு ஜூலைமீ 15-ல் என்னால் மூன்று கோடி ரூபாய் கேட்கப்பட்டு பிறகு பல முறையும் வற்புறுத்தப்பட்டு கனம் பிரகாசம் காலத்தில் ஒரு கோடி ரூபாய் ஒதுக்கப்பட்டு இயல்பாக செய்துவராமல் ஹரிஜனங்கள் வேலைகளைத் தவிர சில சிறந்த வேலைகள் செய்ய திட்டம் போடப்பட்டது. அதபற்றி மாகாண ஹரிஜன அபிவாசரி கமிட்டியில் ரிப்போர்ட்டு எழுதித் கேட்கப்பட்டது. அதன்மேல் திட்டங்களை ஏற்படுத்தி இருக்கிறார்கள். அதுவும் ஒரு புல்தக ரூபமாக அச்சடிக்கப்பட்டு வெளிவந்திருக்கிறது. ஆனால், இப்பொழுது அது எங்கே இருக்கிறது, எவ்வளவு பணம் மிச்சமிருக்கிறது என்று அந்த விஷயம் தெரிவிக்கவில்லை.

"மேலும் கனம் கூர்மையா அவர்கள் மந்திரியாக இருந்தபோது ஆந்திர ஜில்லாவில் ஒவ்வொரு ஜில்லாவிலும் 40-க்கு குறையாமல் ஹாஸ்டல் கள் வைத்துக்கொடுத்தார். தமிழ் நாட்டில் இரண்டொரு ஜில்லாக்களைத் தவிர எல்லா ஜில்லாக்களிலும் 3 அல்லது 4 ஹாஸ்டல்களுக்கமேல் ஏற்பட வில்லை. தென் ஆற்காட்டில் நான்கு ஹாஸ்டல்களும், தஞ்சையில் நான்கு ஹாஸ்டல்களும் இருக்கின்றனவே தவிர மற்ற இடங்களில் அவ்வளவு ஹாஸ்டல்கள் கிடையாது. இந்தக் குறைகளை நிவர்த்தி செய்வதற்கு ஹரிஜன வெல்பேர் கமிட்டி தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுத்தாக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். ஹரிஜன வெல்பேர் மந்திரியும் தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டும்.

"இந்த நிலைமையில் சென்ற அண்டில் ஹாஸ்டல்கள் வைத்து நடத்தின வர்களுக்கு கிராண்டு கொடுக்கவில்லை. அதனால் அவர்கள் தத்தளித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். 30, 40 பிள்ளைகளுக்குமேல் பிள்ளைகளை ஹாஸ்டல் களில்வைத்து மலாயிராம் நாலாயிரம் ரூபாய் பணம் செலவு செய்துவிட்டு வானஷக் கடைசியில் கிராண்டு கேட்டால் அது கிடைப்பதில்லை. இந்தக் குறை களையும் ஹரிஜன வெல்பேர் கமிட்டியும் அமைச்சரும் கவனிக்கவேண்டு மென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். சர்க்கார் கிராண்டு கொடுக்கும் விஷயத்தில் ஏதோ மாறுதல்கள் செய்ய உத்தேசித்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்று கேள்விப்படுகிறேன். சர்க்கார் ஏற்கெனவே நடத்தி வந்த கொள் கையை மாற்றாமல் இருப்பது நலம். ஒரு வருஷம் நடத்தியவர்களுக்கு

4th July 1952]

[Sri A. S. Sahajanandam]

அடுத்த ஆண்டு ஆரம்பத்தில் கிராண்டு கொடுப்பதும் அவசியமானால் அட்வான்ஸ் கொடுப்பதும் என்று இருக்கவேண்டும். ஆனால், புது ஹாஸ்டல்களுக்கு சிபார்சு செய்யவேண்டாம் என்று கலெக்டர்கள் தெரிவிக்கிறார்கள். இவ்விதம் இருந்தால் இந்த ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்றம் கெட்டுப்போய் விடும். சர்க்கார் செய்யும் விஷயங்களில் ஏதாவதும் மாறுதல்கள் இருந்தால் அவ்விதம் மாறுதல்கள் இல்லாமலிருப்பது நல்லது. அட்வான்ஸ் கொடுப்பதோடும் வருஷத்திற்கு 25 சத விதம் (increase) கொடுப்பது என்பதாகச் செய்து வந்தார்கள். அந்த முறையை மாற்றாமல் இருப்பது நல்லது. தமிழ் நாட்டில் நிறைய ஹாஸ்டல்கள் ஏற்படுத்தவும் குடியிருப்பு வசதிகளும் இன்னும் இதர வசதிகள் செய்யவும் ஹரிஜனங்கள் பிழைக்கும் வழிகளை ஏற்படுத்தவும் ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்ற இலாகா வேலை செய்ய வேண்டும். ஹரிஜனங்கள் சரியாக வேடாட்டுப்பாடவில்லை என்று சொல்லப்பட்டது. சர்க்கார் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு வேடாட்டுரிமை கொடுத்தும், ஹரிஜனங்கள் தன் காலில் நிற்கும் நிலைமை ஏற்படாமையால் வேடாட்டுரிமை விடும் தைத்தான் உண்டாக்கி இருக்கிறது. இதனால் எங்கும் அரிசிப் பசு கிளால் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு அன்பங்கள் வந்துள்ளன. அவற்றை நிவர்த்திக்க சர்க்கார் தக்க முயற்சிகள் எடுக்கவில்லை. இவற்றையெல்லாம் சிறம் பரம் தாலுகா, காணா, முதனை, கரடாம்புலியூர் முதலிய இடங்களில் காணலாம். இப்பொழுது ஹரிஜனங்களை வேலையில் வைத்தக்கொள்ளாமலும் வேலையில் வைத்துக்கொண்டாலும் அவர்களுக்குக் கூலி கொடுக்காமலும் அநேக தொந்தரவுகளை விளைவித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இன்னும் பல விதமான ஹிம்ஸைகளுக்கு அவர்கள் ஆளாகிறார்கள். இதை நிவர்த்திக்க சர்க்கார் சிரத்தைக் கொண்டிருப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை.

“மேலும் காங்கிரஸ் அரசாங்கத்திலும் காங்கிரஸிற்கு வேடாட்டுப்பாட வில்லை என ஹரிஜனங்களின்மேல் ஒரு உணர்ச்சி உண்டாகி இருக்கிறது. தற் கால முன்னேற்றமும் அதனால் தடைப்பட்டிருப்பதாக சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ஹரிஜனங்கள் வேடாட்டுப்பாடாததன் காரணம் படிப்பில்லாதவர்களும் தன் காலில் நிற்க முடியாத அடிமைகளுக்கு வேடாட்டுரிமை கொடுத்ததும் தான் காரணம். அவர்கள் எடுப்பார் கைப்பள்ளிகளாக இருந்தார்கள். அவர்களிடம் காங்கிரஸ் செய்த நன்மைகளை எடுத்த பிரசாரம் செய்யாமையே தான் காரணம். மேலும் தியாகிகள் வீரமாளும் வாங்கும் பெயரால் ஹரி ஜனங்களிடமிருந்த நிலங்களை பலாத்காரமாக பிடுங்கியதும், பிராசுதாரிகள் கிசான்களை கம்யூனிஸ்டு பேர் வைத்து அடித்தமையும் ஹரிஜனங்களின் வீடுகளைப் பிரித்து எறிந்தமேதான் காரணம். ஹரிஜனங்கள் வேடாட்டுப் பாடவில்லையாதலால் அவர்களை மட்டந்தட்டவேண்டுமென்பது தவறு. அவர்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்துதான் திருப்பவேண்டும். பயமுறுத்துவதால் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சிக்குத்தான் பலம் குறையும். அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய நன்மைகளைச் செய்து பிரசாரம் செய்து பாதுகாப்பளித்து அவர்களுடைய ஆதரவைப்பெற வேண்டும்.

“சர்க்காருக்கு 1952-53-ம் ஆண்டு வருமானம் ரூ. 66,90,44,400 அது கொஞ்சம் குறைய 67 கோடிகள். இதில் ஐந்தில் ஒரு பாகம் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு பங்கு இருக்கிறது. அதாவது 13 கோடிகள் இருக்கின்றன. இவர்கள் பாகத்தை தனியே பிரித்து செலவழித்து வந்தால் சில ஆண்டுகளில் இவர்களுடைய குறைகள் நீங்கி விடும். அதாவது 13 கோடி ரூபாய் ஒதுக்கி பிரிக்கப்படாவிட்டால் மூன்று கோடியேனும் ஒதுக்கி தீவிரமாக வேலைசெய்ய பிரார்த்திக்கிறேன். ஏனென்றால் ஹரிஜனங்கள்தான் சர்க்காருக்கு அதிக வருமானத்தைக் கொடுத்தி வருகிறார்கள். எந்த வரி போட்டாலும் அவர்களுக்குத்தான் வருகிறது. மோட்டார் வரி போட்டாலும் அவர்களுக்கு தான் வருகிறது. சர்க்காருக்கு இப்பொழுது வரும் 67 கோடி ரூபாயும் ஹரிஜனங்கள் மூலமாகத்தான் வருகிறது. அதில் அவர்களுக்கு என்று மூன்று கோடியாகிலும் செலவழிக்கலாம். இப்பொழுது அவர்களுடைய குறைகளை நிவர்த்திக்க வேண்டுமென்று வேலை செய்துகொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். அதற்காக இப்பொழுது 74 லட்சம் ரூபாய் செலவழிக்கப்படுவதாக தெரிகிறது. அவ்விதம் செலவழித்தால் ஒரு ஆளுக்கு ஒரு ரூபாய்கூட வராது. மேலும் 74 லட்சம் கொண்டு செய்யும் வேலையால் ஒரு பூர்த்தியும்

[Sri A. S. Sahajanandam]

[4th July 1952]

இந்த யுகஞ்சென்றாலும் ஆகாது. அதனால் தீவிர வேலைசெய்ய மூன்று கோடி ரூபாய் வருஷத்திற்கு செலவிட்டால் தீவிரமாக நடைபெறும். விரைவில் முற்றுப் பெறும். ஆனால், இப்பொழுது ராமபாதசாகருக்கு என்று 180 கோடி ரூபாய் செலவு முக்கப்போகிறார்கள். நான் சொல்லுவது 75 லட்சம் ஜனங்களை குடும்பத்திற்கு 7 பேர் வீதமாக பிரித்தால் 15 லட்சம் குடிகளில் ஒரு குடிக்கு 6, 7 பேர்கள் இருப்பார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் மிராசதாராகளின் நிலங்களை விலைக்கு வாங்கி ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் இரண்டு ஏக்கர் நிலம் என்று கொடுத்தால், அதனால் எவ்வளவோ ஹரிஜனங்கள் செளகரியமடைவார்கள். அதனால் உணவு உற்பத்தி ஏராளமாக வரும். பிறகு இந்த ராமபாதசாகர் வேண்டியதில்லை. அதற்கு அவ்வளவு ரூபாயும் செலவு செய்யவேண்டாம், கம்யூனிஸம் பரவாது. வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்களின் பங்காகிய 13 கோடியில் ஆண்டிற்கு மூன்று கோடி ரூபாய் ஒதுக்கினால் போதும்.

“தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு மனைக்கட்டுகள் கொடுக்கும் விஷயத்தில் ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் ஆறு செண்டுகளுக்கு குறையாமல் வாங்கிக்கொடுக்கவேண்டும். மேட்டுப்பாளையம் நிலங்களை வாங்கிக்கொடுக்க வேண்டும். கொடுக்கும் நிலங்கள் நஞ்சையாக இருந்தால் அவற்றைத் துத்துக்கொடுக்கவேண்டும். சேரி நத்தங்களில் எந்தக் காரணத்தை முன்னிட்டும் கிராமத்தாருக்கு மனைக்கட்டுகளிருக்கக்கூடாது. அது விஷயமாக ஒரு சட்டம் இயற்றவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது அவர்களுக்கு மூன்று செண்டுகள் கொடுக்கப்பட்டு வருகிறது. அதில் அவன் வீடு கட்டிக்கொள்வானா, அல்லது மாடு கட்டிக்கொள்வானா, வைக்கோல் போர் போட்டுக்கொள்வானா? தோட்டம் வைத்துக்கொள்வானா? ஒன்றும் செய்துகொள்ள முடியாது. அவர்களுக்கு ஆறு செண்டாகிலும் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். அதற்கு சட்டம் இயற்றவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது இங்கே காட்பொரேஷனில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு கட்டுகையில் வீடு கட்டிக்கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். அது எவ்வளவு இருக்கிறது என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும். ஒருவன் வசிப்பதற்கு அதில் இடம் இருக்கிறதா என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும். பரிதாபகரமான விஷயம். ஆகையால் அவர்களுக்கு ஆறு செண்டுகளுக்கு குறையாமல் வாங்கிக்கொடுக்க வேண்டும். சேரிகளில் மனைக்கட்டுகளைக் கொடுப்பதால் பின்னாலே அவைகள் அடமானம் வைக்கப்பட்டு பிறகு அதைவிட்டு வெளியேறச் செய்து விடுகிறார்கள். மிராசதாரர்கள் ஒருவருடைய மனைக்கட்டை மற்றொருவனுக்கு பாகப் பிரிவினையாக எழுதி வைத்துவிட்டு பிறகு விஷாவது விற்பனையிறார்கள். அதன் பிறகு ஹரிஜனங்களை அந்த நிலத்தைவிட்டு வெளியேற்றிவிடுகிறார்கள். அவ்விதம் செய்யாமலிருப்பதற்கு ஒரு சட்டம் இயற்றவேண்டும். வெளியேற்ற மாட்டேன் என்றால், கட்டிவைத்து அடித்து விற்பனாக எழுதி வாங்கி விடுகிறார்கள். அல்லது வாடகைச் சீட்டு எழுதிவாங்கிக்கொண்டு தன்ன தென்கிறார்கள். மிராசதாரர்களுக்குப் பாகப் பத்திரமும் வாடகைச் சீட்டுத் தவிர வேறு ரிக்கார்டு கிடையாது. சிதம்பரம் தாலுகா, காட்டுமன்னார்குடி, பெட்டியூரில் இவ்விதம் எவ்வளவோ நடந்திருக்கின்றன. வெண்ணையூரில் நடந்திருக்கிறது. இன்னும் மாகாணத்தில் அநேகம் இடங்களில் நடந்து வருகிறது. இன்மேல் இவைகள் நடக்காமலிருக்க ஒரு சட்டம் இயற்றவேண்டும். சேரியிலுள்ள மனைக்கட்டுகளை எக்காரணத்தை முன்னிட்டும் எடுத்துக் கொள்ளக்கூடாது என்றும் ஒரு சட்டம் இயற்றவேண்டும். அது விஷயமாக ஏற்கெனவே ரெவின்யூ மந்திரியாக இருந்த ஸ்ரீ காளாவெங்கடராவ் அவரிடம் நான் சென்று, “ஜமீன்தாரிகளை ஒழிக்கின்றீர்களே அங்குள்ள ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு ஏதாவது வழியுண்டா?” என்று கேட்டேன். அதற்கு ஒரு ஸ்கீம் இருப்பதாகச் சொன்னார். ஹரிஜனங்கள் வசிக்கும் வீடுகளும், மனையும் அவர்களுக்குத்தான் சொந்தம், வேறு யாருக்கும் சொந்தமில்லை யென்பதாகத் திட்டம் வகுக்கப்போவதாகச் சொன்னார். ஆனால், அத்திட்டத்தை நிறைவேற்றுவதற்குள் அவர் மந்திரி பதவியிலிருந்து சென்றுவிட்டார். ஆகையால், ஹரிஜனங்கள் வசிக்கின்ற மனைக்கட்டுகள் அவர்களுக்குத்தான் சொந்தம் என்கிற முறையில் தீர்மானம் கொண்டுவரவேண்டும்.

“ஹரிஜனங்கள் பெரும்பாலும் விவசாயத் தொழில் செய்பவர்கள். இவர்களுக்கு சரியானபடி கூலி கொடுக்கப்படுவதில்லை. வாரமும் குத்தகையும் சரியாகக் கொடுக்கப்படுவதில்லை. விவசாய வருஷ முடிவான ஆனி மாதம்

4th July 1952] [Sri A. S. Sahajanandam]

பிறந்ததும், வாரம், குத்தகை, சம்பளம் விஷயங்கள் தீர்க்கப்படுவதில்லை. சில இடங்களில், விவசாயிகள் பயிரிட்டு வந்த நிலங்களைப் பிடுங்கி வேறொரு வருஷக் கொடுத்துவிடுகிறார்கள். அதனால் அவர்கள் பிழைப்புக்கு வழியில்லாமல் சஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். வாரம், குத்தகை, கூலி விஷயமாக விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களின் குறைந்தபட்ச கூலி நிர்ணயச் சட்டமொன்று கொண்டுவரவேண்டும். கடந்த காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியின் போது நான் ஒரு மசோதா கொண்டுவந்தேன். அதனை மந்திரியாயிருந்த ஸ்ரீ மாதவமேனன் 'சர்க்கார் அம்மாதிரி ஒரு சட்டம் கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள்' என்று சொல்லி என்னை வாயஸ் வாங்கிக் கொள்ளும்படிச் சொல்லி தடுத்தாவிட்டார்கள். ஆனால் இம்மாதிரி சட்டம் கொண்டுவர இன்னும் சமயம் வாய்க்கவில்லை.

“ஹரிஜனங்களின் கல்வி விஷயத்தில், பத்து ஆண்டுகளுள் இலவசக் கல்வி கல்லூரி வரை அளிக்கப்படுமென்ற ஒரு சலுகையை சர்க்கார் அளித்துள்ளார்கள். சர்க்காரின் கருணைக்காக நான் நன்றி பாராட்டுகிறேன். கல்லூரியிலோ உயர்தரப் பாடசாலைகளிலோ பிள்ளைகள் சேருமுன் முதன் முதலில் முன்பணம் கட்டிவிடவேண்டுமென்று ஸ்தாபனக்காரர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ஹாஸ்டலிலும் அம்மாதிரியே நிர்ப்பந்தப்படுத்துகிறார்கள். அதன் படி முன்பணம் கட்டிச் சேர்ந்துகொண்டால்தான், பிறகு சர்க்கார் உதவி பெறலாம். முன்பணம் கட்டமுடியாமல் பலர் ஹைஸ்கூல்களிலோ கல்லூரிகளிலோ சேரமுடியாமல் தவிக்கிறார்கள்.

“உதாரணமாக, சென்னையிலுள்ள எதிராஜ் கல்லூரியில் ஒரு பெண் சேர முயற்சி செய்தாள். கல்லூரிக்காரர்கள் முன்பணம் கேட்டார்கள். அந்தப் பெண்ணை முன்பணம் கட்டமுடியவில்லை. அப்படித் தவித்தாக் கொண்டிருந்த போது, கனம் சபாநாயகரிடம் வந்து முறையிட்டதன்பேரில் கனம் சபாநாயகர் இது விஷயத்தை கனம் கல்வி மந்திரி அவர்களிடம் தெரிவித்தார். அவர் ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்றக் காரியாலயம் மூலமாக எதிராஜ் கல்லூரிக்குக் கடிதம் எழுதியும், பணம் வந்தால்தான் சேர்ப்போம் என்று சொல்லிவிட்டார்கள். அதலால், ஹரிஜன் மாணவ மாணவிகளை முதலிலேயே இலவசமாகச் சேர்க்க உத்தரவு போடவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்கின்றேன்.

“சில மாணவர்கள் கஷ்டப்பட்டு சேர்ந்தும், அண்ணாமலைக் கல்லூரி மாணவர்களுக்கு வருஷ முடிவில் பணம் கிடைப்பது கஷ்டமாகிவிட்டது. கும்பகோணத்தில் ஒரு மாணவன் சர்க்கார் உதவியை நம்பி ஹாஸ்டலில் 10 மாதம் சேர்ந்து படித்த பிறகு, ஹாஸ்டல் சம்பளம் கிடைக்கவில்லை யென்று அந்தப் பையன் சென்னை வந்து என்னையும், கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களையும், மந்திரியையும், அரசாங்கக் காரியதரிசிகளையும், ஹரிஜன் வெல்பேர் டைரக்டரையும் கண்டும் வியர்த்தமாக திரும்பிப் போனான். ஆகையால் சர்க்கார் முதலிலேயே பணத்தைக் கட்டிவிட ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டும்.

“சென்ற ஆண்டில் ஹாஸ்டல் நடத்திவைக்கார்களுக்கு கிராண்டு கொடுக்காவிட்டால், அவர்கள் ஹாஸ்டல்களை நிறுத்திவிடுவார்கள். புதிதாக யாரும் ஹாஸ்டல்கள் வைக்கமாட்டார்கள். தனிப்பட்ட மானேஜ்மென்டுக்கு கிராண்டு கொடுப்பதோடு பல இடங்களில் சர்க்காரே ஹாஸ்டல் வைத்து நடத்தலாம். ஆகவே, சர்க்கார் இது விஷயமாகத் தாராளச் சலுகை காட்டவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“சென்னையில் ஒரு பாடிசன் ஹாஸ்டல் நடந்து வந்தது. அந்த ஹாஸ்டலை ஒழிப் தற்கு பலர் பலவிதமாகப் சூழ்ச்சி செய்தார்கள். ஹாஸ்டலுக்குப் பணம் போதவில்லை, தாராளமாகப் பணம் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொன்னார்கள். ஆனால் மாணவர்களுக்கு நேர கொடுப்பதோ மென்று ஒரு வருஷம் கொடுத்தார்கள். இரண்டாவது வருஷம் கொடுக்க ஹாஸ்டலை இல்லாமல் மூடப்பட்டுவிட்டது. பிள்ளைகள் நிறையப் படிக்கவேண்டுமென்று அபிப்பிராயப்படும் இந்த சமயத்தில், இம் மாதிரி அவர்கள் ஆசையை அழிப்பதற்கு வழி செய்யக்கூடாது. ஹாஸ்டல்களை நடத்தத்தான் பார்க்கவேண்டுமே தவிர, அவைகளை ஒழிக்கப் பார்க்கக்கூடாது.

[Sri A. S. Sahajanandam]

[4th July 1952]

“மது விலக்கு.—மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டத்தை எடுத்துவிட்டு, பழைய மதுவைக் கொண்டு வர வேண்டுமென்று சிலர் அபிப்பிராயப்படுகிறார்கள். அதை நான் பலமாக எதிர்க்கின்றேன். மதுவிலக்கை எந்தக் காரணத்தை முன்னிட்டும் எடுத்துவிடக்கூடாது. உயிரைக்கொண்டு போகின்ற மதுவை திரும்பவும் கொண்டு வரக்கூடாது. கள்ளச் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுகிறார்களென்றால், அதற்குப் போலீசார்கள் தான் காரணம். போலீசார் துணை இருக்கிறது என்ற தைரியத்தில் தான் அவர்கள் கள்ளச் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுகிறார்கள். உதாரணமாக என்னுடைய ஊரில் நந்தனார் கல்விக் கழகத்திற்குப் பக்கத்திலேயே கள்ளத்தனமாக கள் விற்பார்கள். போலீசார் கள்ளை பதனியென்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டு குடித்துப் போனார்கள். கடலுருக்கும் சிதம்பரத்திற்கும் மத்தியில் புளியம்பட்டு கிராமத்தில் வெளிப்படையாக கள்ளச்சாராயக்கடை வைத்து நடத்துகிறார்கள். ஜாதி ஹிந்துக்களின் பிரட்டலிலால், அவர்கள் நடவடிக்கை ஒன்றும் எடுக்கவில்லை. டிபுடி சூப்ரண்டண்டு முதல் அதற்குத் துணையாக இருக்கிறார். சப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் முதல் டிபுடி சூப்ரண்டண்டு வரை ஒருவருக்கொருவர் ‘ஸ்பீன்’ முதலியவைகளைச் செய்து கொண்டு இம்மாதிரி மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டம் சரியாக அமல் நடக்கவிடாமல் தடங்கல்களாக இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே, இந்தப் போலீஸ் டிபார்ட்மென்ட் பரால் மது விலக்குச் சட்டத்தை சரியாக நடத்தமுடியாது. இந்த டிபார்ட்மென்ட்டையே அறவே ஒழித்து திருத்தி அமைக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன். எந்த ஜில்லாவில் எந்த இடத்தில் சாராயம் காய்ச்சப் பட்டாலும், அந்த ஜில்லா போலீஸ் சூப்ரண்டென்ட் தக்கபடி தண்டிக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். அப்பொழுதுதான் மது விலக்குச் சட்டம் சரியாக நடக்கும்.

“இது சம்பந்தமாக, இன்னொரு சம்பவத்தைக் குறிப்பிடுகின்றேன். சிதம்பரத்தில் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுகிறார்கள், அங்கே சப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் மாதம் ரூ. 50 வாங்கிக்கொண்டு அவர்களைப் பிடிப்பதில்லை. அந்த சப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் மீது நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று மார்ச்சு பட்ஜெட்டில் கேட்டேன். சர்க்கார் காது கொடுத்துக் கேட்கவில்லை. இவ்வளவு தூரம் ஜனப் பிரதிநிதிகளாகிய நாங்கள் சொல்வதை மந்திரிகள் கவனிக்கவேண்டும். கவனிக்காமல் விட்டுவிட்டால் நாங்கள் எவ்வளவு சொல்லியும் பிரயோஜனமில்லாமல் போய் விடுகிறது. ஸ்ரீமான் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் பிரதமராயிருந்த காலத்தில் அங்கத்தினர்கள் ஏதாவது குற்றங்குறைகளை எடுத்துச்சொன்னால் அதனை அதிகாரிகள் குறித்துக்கொண்டு அதற்குண்டான நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுக்க முயற்சிப்பார்கள். ஸ்ரீமன் ஓமந்தூர் ராமசாமி ரெட்டியார் அவர்களைப் போலவே எல்லோரையும் பார்த்தார். சட்டசபையிலிருக்கும் அங்கத்தினர்களெல்லோரும் திருடுபவர்கள் என்று சொல்லி, அவர்கள் சொல்வதை அதிகாரிகள் கேட்கக்கூடாது என்று ஒரு உத்தரவு பிரப்பித்தார். இப்பொழுது எங்களைப் பற்றி கேள்வி முறையே கிடைப்பாது. மக்களிடம் கஷ்டப்பட்டு லோட்டு வாங்கி சட்டசபைக்கு வந்திருக்கும் நாங்கள் மக்களுடைய குறைகளை எடுத்துச் சொன்னால், காது கொடுத்து கேட்காமல், செவிடன் காதிஸ் ஊதின சங்கு போல் ஆய்விடுகிறது. ஆகையால், நான் சொல்வ தென்னவென்றால், மதுவிலக்குத் திட்டம் தீவிரமாக அரசு நடத்தப்பட வேண்டும். அதற்குத் தடங்கலாகப் போலீசார் இருப்பார்களேயானால், அவர்களைக் கடுமையாகத் தண்டிக்கவேண்டும்.

“இன்னும் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு ஒரு குறையிருக்கிறது. ஹரிஜன் மந்திரியை நியமிக்கும்போது மொத்தமுள்ள ஹரிஜன் அங்கத்தினர்கள் 62 பேரில் யாரையாவது ஒருவரைக் கேட்டிருக்கலாம். இது ஜனநாயக அரசாங்கமாக இருப்பதால், எங்களில் யாருடைய அபிப்பிராயத்தையாவது கேட்டிருக்கலாம். 28 வருஷங்களாக சட்ட சபையில் அங்கத்தினராக இருக்கும் சிழவன் நான். என்னையாவது ஒரு வார்த்தை கேட்டிருக்கலாம். அப்படியொன்றும் செய்யாமல் ஒரு தெலுங்கரை ஹரிஜன் மந்திரியாகப் போட்டிருக்கிறார். ஆகையால், ஹரிஜன் மக்களுக்கு வேண்டிய சிறிய காரியங்களுக்காக அவரிடம் போய் முறையிட்டுக்கொள்ள முடியாமல் இருக்கிறது. நாங்கள் சொல்வது அவருக்கும் புரியவேண்டும். புரிந்துகொண்டு அதற்குண்டான நடவடிக்கை

4th July 1952] [Sri A. S. Sahajanandam]

களை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். அதைச் செய்துகொள்ள முடியாமல் இருக்கிறது. கிராம அபிவிருத்தி மந்திரியும் ஒரு தெலுங்கர். இரண்டு பேர்களும் தெலுங்கர்களாக இருப்பதால் தமிழ்நாட்டில் உள்ள ஹரிஜனங்களின் குறைகளைத் தெரிந்துகொள்ள முடியாமல் இருக்கிறது. ஆகையால், தமிழ் மந்திரியாக ஒருவரை ஹரிஜன சேவைக்காகப் போடவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொண்டு இந்தப் பிரச்சினையை இத்துடன் நான் முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP:—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I need not repeat the truism that the Budget is the mirror which reflects the policies and programmes of the Government. Surely that is the object of every Government. Sir, the Members of the House sitting on the side, even though they are composed of different political parties, have something in general with regard to the fundamentals of their objective. What is that objective?

10-30
a.m.

“ We want to establish a co-operative commonwealth and a casteless and classless society, where there is no room for exploitation, and inequalities are reduced to the minimum. I thought that in a Budget inspired by the great leader who represents in himself the ideologies and programmes of the party he leads, there will be something of a new orientation of our existing policy. I have to admit frankly that I was sorely disappointed in that respect.

“ Sir, it is well known that a country which wants to move in the direction of equality must bring in taxation proposals not merely as a fiscal measure but more as a powerful weapon which would reduce the inequalities of income and wealth. Sir, progressive taxation of incomes only would help us to clear some of the future inequalities. If you want to remove the disparity that is existing to-day amidst our people, it should be by means of taxation directed towards that end. It has been suggested that our expenses being too heavy, we must have recourse to taxation. Progressive taxation of incomes from agricultural holdings, estate duty and death duty are some effective measures of establishing a society based on social justice.

“ No doubt, some of the measures can be taken only by the Central Government. But we find that important fields are open to the Provincial Government also. In the proposals for taxation the surcharge proposed to be levied on agricultural revenues is sought to be made out as a substitute for agricultural income-tax. I for one will not be on the side of people who clamour for development schemes but at the same time oppose any proposal for taxation, which is equitable. But I may say that this ‘Revenue Surcharge Bill’ is a poor substitute for a tax on agricultural income. I can say I am not opposed to the measure on principle. But I may just mention before this House how, in its application, it will bring disaster to my district. Sir, it may not be possible for many members of this House who are unacquainted with the land system prevailing in Malabar, to understand why I am objecting to this Bill. It may take me some time to explain to them that intricate system. But I resist that temptation now and reserve it to the time when that Bill is discussed. However, I would request the Hon. Minister coming from Malabar to note my points

[Sri M. Narayana Kurup]

[4th July 1952]

even though he may not be having that portfolio, and give satisfactory explanation inasmuch as he is acquainted with the system and he may not need any explanation from me.

" Sir, if we have a land tenure system based on the model of ryotwari system in which, between the ultimate owner and the cultivator there are not many intermediaries, or to put it otherwise, if the peasants are the proprietors, the problem may not be difficult. But in Malabar a peculiar system is in existence. We have a number of intermediaries between the owner and the peasant. The highest proprietor is called the Janmi or the registered holder of the land. Immediately below him is the Kanamdar while next to him are the Verumpattamdars. Sir, the burden of payment of the revenue, which is legally recoverable from the landlord, is shifted, on account of the practice or custom by whatever term you may call it, to the Kanamdar; that is the existing practice. He also pays what is called the '*Michavaram*' which bears a very small proportion to the actual rental yield of the land. The Verumpattamdar is the person who actually cultivates. He is not liable to pay the revenue or any such thing. But he must pay the rent to his immediate landlord which is necessarily much higher than the *Michavaram*. Sir, I beg to submit on this occasion that a great agitation is going on in Malabar that the rent which the cultivator is liable to pay is rack-rent and that it should be immediately reduced. Therefore it is of fundamental importance that the cultivator should not be asked to pay any more tax or additional burden. I am not laying before this House any imaginary propositions but am only putting forth facts as they exist in Malabar.

" Suppose there is a Janmi paying a hundred rupees assessment. If the Janmi is the one who is in actual possession of land, the yield or the rental value of the land may be two thousand to three thousand rupees, and if there are no intermediaries or Kanamdars in between, he may pay, of course, some dues. Take, for instance, another Janmi who also pays an equal assessment of a hundred rupees. But he has demised the land to the Kanamdar and the '*Michavaram*' he obtains may be only between a hundred and two hundred rupees. Now if this Bill is applied to Malabar as it exists, the tax would be disproportionate. Whereas the Janmi getting an income of two thousand to three thousand rupees is lightly taxed, the Janmi getting only a few hundred rupees is heavily taxed.

" For instance, take the case of a Janmi paying a hundred rupees assessment. He is exempted from fifty and he has to pay on rupees fifty. Take the case of a land which bears an assessment to the extent of hundred rupees and which is demised to two or three Kanamdars each paying less than rupees fifty. If up to rupees fifty the exemption is given, the Janmi would be asked to shoulder the entire burden. So far as the Janmi is concerned he will somehow try to reimburse his tax portion by enhancing the rental dues from the Kanamdars. The landlord who has to pay Rs. 100 is liable to pay the tax. Under the contract with him, the

4th July 1952] [Sri M. Narayana Kurup]

kanom tenant is liable to pay any surcharge. So, if the law as it stands to-day is to be enforced, the Kanamdar who has to pay only Rs. 25 will have to pay the revenue and will have to pay the surcharge. The janmi will see to it that the surcharge which he has to pay is reimbursed to him. Bigger janmis such as the Zamorin and others who have to pay lakhs and lakhs and who are registered pattadars have got under them kanam demises whose assessment may be Rs. 50, Rs. 100 or more. If they were independent pattadars and peasant proprietors, they would be only liable to pay according to the graded system shown in the Bill. But the janmis are liable to pay a higher rate, and they would naturally ask their kanamdars to pay at the higher rate. So, there is that difficulty.

"Coming to the verumpattamdar, I think, they are not liable to pay under the custom, contract or even law, any revenue; but if you look at the definition of 'registered pattadar' in the Bill, you will find that a man in possession shall be deemed to be a registered holder irrespective of the fact that the patta is registered in his name jointly or otherwise. Therefore, the definition, as it stands to-day, will surely include these verumpattamdars who are not at all liable to pay revenue. As I said in the first instance, they are already overburdened with the rack-rent which they are liable to pay. Therefore, while considering this measure, I request you to find out how it will affect the people in its operation. The peculiar land tenure system obtaining in Malabar with a number of intermediaries should be taken into consideration and suitable amendments to the Bill must be made, so that the incidence of the tax may be just and equitable.

"Sir, as I said, this is not the first time that we in Malabar suffer, because our problems have not been properly understood by the people at the top. We do not, of course, find fault with them. After all, Malabar is only one of the 26 districts of this State, we admit that. But fortunately or unfortunately, our problems are peculiar. I, therefore, request that the same old indifference of two hundred years with respect to our district should not continue.

"In this connexion, I should like to bring to the notice of the House the fact as to how the Ministry which sanctioned bonus to producers with the best of intentions actually ruined the tenants in my part of the country, because it was not provided that it was to be paid to the tenant. As it was simply said 'producer' the tenant got the bonus, but the landlord claimed it, as it was based on the rent or paddy of which he was the owner. The result was that there were many suits in which the poor tenants were asked to shell down the bonus amount with incidental costs too. This, I submit, is due to the fact that the peculiar problems of Malabar are not appreciated.

"In dealing with the problem of finding out more money for the State, it is pointed out to the Government by certain critics that Prohibition should be scrapped. I for one stand for Prohibition. There may, no doubt, be difficulties in the working of

[Sri M. Narayana Kurup]

[4th July 1952]

Prohibition and the results may not be now quite successful as we expected. However, all people believe that it has done immense good to the poor people of the country. Now, who are the people that want Prohibition to be scrapped? Generally they are people who are not addicted to drink, and it is they who want the drinkers to be taxed for this convenience, or luxury as they put it. But who are the people that will have to pay this tax? It is the poor people that will have to pay. Moreover, morally it is unjustifiable. Therefore, Sir, I hope and trust that this Government will not follow the advice of adopting this easy means of finding out money for our development schemes.

“Coming now to the expenditure side, it is probably for no fault of theirs, that the Government have not been able to make any reduction in the expenditure. It has been estimated by the National Income Committee that of the revenues collected by our States and by the Centre, 97 per cent is being spent on administration. We have not been able to reduce our administrative expenses. That is because we are yet unable to have a redistribution or redirection of our State expenditure. It is not pleasing to us to look into the Budget and find that His Excellency the Governor costs us Rs. 7,03,000 while the Hon. Ministers who are fifteen in number, and who shoulder all the burden of administration of the State day in and day out, cost us only Rs. 5,49,400. Sir, it has often been asked why we are not able to enthuse the people and why we do not get their co-operation. If we preach to them plain living and high thinking but if at every opportunity we appear before them in the opposite role, how is it possible that the people can become enthused? I am sure Gandhiji, if he were alive to-day, would not compliment either our Union President or our Governors of States, on the extravagant expenditure involved in those offices. Suppose one of the Ministers sitting on the opposite side is raised to the *gadi* of Governorship; what excuse can he have for changing his habits and indulging in luxury like the Moghul Emperors of the middle ages? I find a large sum of Rs. 64,000 for maintenance of gardens and another sum for ‘sumptuary allowances’—I think all that would suit a Moghul Emperor with a very large family. I, therefore, suggest that it is necessary, especially when we want money for development schemes, and when we are taxed to the utmost limit, that all this expenditure should be reduced to the minimum. After all, without meaning disparagement to anybody, I submit this post in the democratic set up does not require men of very extraordinary ability and intelligence. The Governor acts according to the advice of the Ministers. It was Gandhiji who said that the maximum income of an individual should not be more than seventeen times that of the lowest, and that I think is the ideology of the Congress also. When we find such great disparities existing in the country, how can we expect to carry the confidence of the people and how can we expect the people to be enthusiastic? This is what struck me even at the beginning.

“Then again, as a layman, I thought in a country like ours where 70 per cent of the people depend on agriculture, primary

4th July 1952] [Sri M. Narayana Kurup]

importance would be given to the Agricultural Department. We are to-day spending about Rs. 250 crores on import of foodstuffs and that is the case in a year which was originally fixed as the target year for self-sufficiency! How can this food problem be tackled if the Agricultural Department is not given sufficient money to meet their needs? There are nearly four crores of agricultural labourers. Statistics would show that there has not been much increase in production of late, either in acreage or in quantity. How can it be otherwise, when we know that an agricultural demonstrator sitting in the centre of a taluk has a large area to look after? What can he do to the thousands of villagers and cultivators who need seed, manure, implements, etc? It has been the experience of most of us that if a person wants seed for the coming year, he has to apply for it even now, and by the time it is given to him, it becomes useless. I say it is because there is only one demonstrator for a very large area and he cannot help the people much.

" While on this problem of food and agriculture, let me say that we can never hope to become self-sufficient or that agriculture will improve unless drastic agricultural reforms are introduced. No doubt, the policy of decontrol has been announced by this Government and it has given some relief to the cultivator and the producer. Sir, I am for decontrol and people of my type would promise full support to the Government and see that their policy of decontrol succeeds. But that is not all. As I said, the peculiar land system prevailing in our district has to be drastically changed. In fact, we have been agitating; we have submitted memoranda and it is our earnest hope that our representation would be considered at the best possible opportunity. Sir, the tenants should be made to feel that they are the owners of the produce; of course, they may be asked to pay their legitimate dues. They should not be evicted arbitrarily according to the wishes of the landlord. Therefore, Sir, unless we are able to give that sense of security to the tiller, any amount of decontrol of Grow More Food Schemes, *takkavi* loans, digging of wells or even the major projects like the Tungabhadra or the Malampuzha, will not solve the problem. I say that in a country like ours agriculture must have top priority, if we want progress.

11
a.m.

" Then, Sir, from the layman's point of view, next to agriculture comes cattle, and it has to be improved. It is said that India possesses 177 million head of cattle, which is claimed to be one-fourth of the bovine population of the world. In order to improve this 177 million head of cattle, they have provided only a very paltry amount in the Budget. I can only say that the amount provided is so low that it belies all our professions of improvement of cattle and agriculture.

" Next in importance in a layman's Budget would come the cottage industries, because they are very closely associated with agriculture. As I said, 4 crores of people depend on agriculture, and they have got only partial employment. If we are to make any attempt to remove the unemployment and under-employment

[Sri M. Narayana Kurup]

[4th July 1952]

prevailing in the villages and rural parts, it can only be done through the improvement of cottage industries and smaller industries. I remember, Sir, though it is known to all of us, that attempts to give incentive to the cottage industries even led to the downfall of some governments of the State, but I am sure, that the Leader we have to-day, if he only believes that the cottage industries have to be improved, will do it, because he will not yield to the wire-pullings of people from the back and from the members of his own party. Therefore, Sir, according to me cottage industry budget ought to come third. I do not wish to take up all the items *seriatim* and give my suggestions or my opinion on them. But, these three things, namely, our agricultural population; our cattle and our cottage industries, must be the main planks in our economic order, which alone will take India to increased production, to increased wealth, to increased prosperity and to a more equitable distribution of her resources.

“ Sir I will conclude my speech with a request to this Government to consider the claims of our district in the various activities and the developments which the Government propose hereafter. Sir, we know that we, South Indians, have suffered heavily compared with the rest in the development of the industrial resources of our country. Let it not be said that Malabar alone suffered. True it is that we are only one of the 26 districts in the State. But, we have one-twelfth of the population of this State. While I make this suggestion, I should not be understood as saying that the Government, in every year, in every department in which they undertake any scheme, should distribute the amounts or grants according to population. That is far from what I mean. I only mean this that we must follow a policy of decentralization and self-sufficiency, as far as possible. While I request the Government to pay due consideration to the claims of our district, I only mean to say that in their long-range policy of development, a system of regional equilibrium may be aimed at. Sir, here, I wish to quote a few statistics to show how our district has been treated. Of course, I do not put it by way of criticism, but the facts will explain. I will give figures only in terms of lakhs. Up to 1950, the total amount under Capital Works on Irrigation—Productive and unproductive—was Rs. 3,024 lakhs, but out of this only Rs. 18 lakhs was spent on Malabar. On Electricity, up to 1950, the total amount spent was Rs. 2,358 lakhs, out of which only Rs. 55 lakhs was spent on Malabar. Adding to this capital expenditure from revenue and other sources, the total capital expenditure incurred by the State up to the end of 1950 would come to Rs. 9,129 lakhs. I have here a table of the amounts spent under various heads during 1949-50, which I do not want to trouble the House with. But, I wish just to refer only to some of the items in the 1952-53 Budget proposals. A provision of about Rs. 9 crores has been made under Capital Works on Irrigation. Of course, there is provision so far as Malabar is concerned and that is the Malampuzha project and we are thankful to the Government for making provision for it. We know the

4th July 1952]

[Sri M. Narayana Kurup]

history as to how the Malampuzha project has come into existence. Probably, it may not be wrong to suggest that the project was taken up in spite of this Government. We have now the fact that it has been slowed down for the reason that the grant from the Central Government has been stopped. However, I am sure this will not be stopped, because to-day we find in the newspapers that the Central Government have given a grant of one crore of rupees specifically for this purpose. But, what I mean to say is that while out of the revenues and other amounts obtained, crores and crores were spent in other parts of the country, it is unfortunate that our district was never thought of. The same is the case in regard to electricity for which a provision of Rs. 8.59 lakhs has been made but the grant is Rs. 8 crores. I speak subject to correction and I wish the figures were wrong. I would like a larger amount being set apart for my district.

" Sir, I quoted only figures relating to two of the important items, but if we analyse the amounts set apart for various heads, namely, the Industries Department, Civil Works, and so on, the proportion we get is considerably small. But, that is natural because, if we once effect improvements and developments in particular areas, the expenditure on those regions should necessarily continue to increase. If we are going to launch on a long-range policy—leave alone what has been done in the past—I hope favourable consideration and also better consideration will be given to my district, so that the anomaly that exists to-day may not be there after some years.

" Then, Sir, with regard to irrigation projects, we are met with the argument that we have got plenty of rains. True. But if Nature gives us plenty of rains, we thank Nature for it. We cannot thank the Government which failed to help us in conserving the rain water and utilizing it for the irrigation works of our district. Here, Sir, one fact has to be remembered. For about four months in the year we get heavy rains and for the next eight months there is no rain. Even in respect of the rains we get during the four months, the whole water is carried away to the western seas. That is our problem and we cannot like Kumbhakarna eat for six months and then sleep for another six months. Rainwater must be there for purposes of cultivation during all the months of the year. Therefore, Sir, the argument that we have got rains for four months and then summer for eight months, does not carry conviction.

" While we are on the subject of the Malampuzha project, we understand that there is another scheme called the Kanhirapuzha scheme which is under investigation, and which is supposed to be a more profitable and better scheme than the Malampuzha. We would place before the Government that we are not at all very particular about any scheme, but we are particular that the methods employed for irrigation in other parts of the State should be followed in Malabar also in the same manner. There too, the peculiar problems have to be studied, and I think the projects suited to the genius of the district may be adopted by this Government.

[Sri M. Narayana Kurup]

[4th July 1952]

Sir, from a review of all these things, what I find is that the Government have no particular policy behind this budget, unless it is a policy of maintaining the *status quo*. I say that in a changing world to maintain a policy of *status quo* is but an euphemism for reaction. We have fought for the freedom of our country, and we sacrificed everything for our Independence not because we wanted a substitute Government in place of foreign Government, but we wanted a better life, a better ideal and a better form of society. Our patience has been tried and we all know that our people are impatient, that though we do not reach the goal, we should at least make a beginning on the road to our goal. Sir, when I think of the high expectations that have been raised in the minds of the people to-day and the sacrifices which they have suffered before, I believe that budget will give them no consolation. Sometimes we find in front of the Government House and other buildings a few buckets with sand with the word 'Fire' written on them. What are they intended for? They are intended to be used in case the house or building catches fire. With regard to the expectations raised in the minds of the people, I can only say, this budget can as much quench the fire in the minds of the masses as a few buckets of sand can quench a conflagration."

11-15
a.m. SRI N. C. RAMASWAMI KANDER :—“கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே! 2-ம் தேதி அன்று நடந்த அசெம்பிளி கூட்டத்தன்று நமது நண்பர் ஸ்ரீ விநாயகம் அவர்கள் துரோகம் செய்த மாணிக்கவேலர் உள்ள மந்திரி சபைக்கா ஆதரவு அளிப்பது என்று பேசியதாக, அவர் ஸ்ரீ மாணிக்கவேலர் அவர்களைப் பற்றி ஒன்றும் போளமலிருக்கும்போது தப்பாகப் பிரசுரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அம்மாதிரி ஒருவர் மேல் துவேஷத்தை உண்டு பண்ணவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகப் பொய் பிரசாரம் செய்யக்கூடாதென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். சட்டசபைக் கூட்டத்தில் போளமல் இருந்தும் பேசியதாக எழுதுவது ரொம்பவும் தவறான காரியமாகும். அவர் மந்திரி பதவியை ஒப்புக்கொண்டதைக் கண்டித்து யாராவது எங்கள் ஜில்லாவிலிருந்து இவர்களுக்கு புகார் செய்திருக்கிறார்களா? எங்கள் ஜில்லா வாசிகளின் வேண்டுகோளின்படிதான் அவர் மந்திரி பதவியை ஒப்புக்கொண்டாரோ தவிர எந்த மக்களிடமிருந்து வோட்டுப்பெற்று தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப் பட்டு வந்தாரோ அவர்களுடைய விருப்பத்திற்கு விரோதமாக, அவர்களுக்கு துரோகமாக அவர் ஒன்றும் மந்திரி பதவியை ஒப்புக் கொள்ளவில்லை. அப்படியிருந்தும் கூட இம்மாதிரி பத்திரிகைகள் அவரைப் பற்றி அவதூறுகப் பேசுவது ரொம்பவும் கண்டிக்கத்தக்க செய்கையாகும்.”

SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—“I rise on a point of personal explanation, Mr. Speaker. I have not made that statement and I am not responsible if a publisher gives publicity to that kind of statement.”

SRI N. C. RAMASWAMI KANDER :—“இது போன்று மீண்டும் அம்மாதிரி பத்திரிகைகளில் எழுதக் கூடாதென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக நம் மாகாணத்தில் விவசாயிகள் ரொம்பவும் ஏழ்மையான நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு மாடு வாங்க வேண்டுமென்றால் சர்க்காரால் ஏற்கெனவே கடனாகத் தொகை கொடுக்கப்பட்டு வருகிறது. இப்போது மாடுகள் விலையெல்லாம் உயர்ந்திருப்பதால் அதை அதிகப்படியாக கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு நம் மாகாணமெங்கும் நிறைய நிலங்கள் ஒதுக்கப் பட்டிருக்கிறது. அவைகளுக்குப் பஞ்சம தரிசு என்று பெயர். அந்த நிலங்களை உழுவதற்கு வேண்டிய பொருளாதார நிலைமையில் இல்லாமல் அவர்கள்

4th July 1952] [Sri N. C. Ramaswami Kander]

மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான நிலையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு நமது அரசாங்கம் கூடுமான வரையில் போனஸாகவாவது டணம் கொடுத்து அந்த நிஷங்களை உடனே பயிரிடும்படி செய்யவேண்டுமென்று நான் கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்களுடைய மந்திரி சபையை மிகவும் வணக்கத்துடன் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“வட ஆற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் பலபகுதிகளில் மலை ஜனங்கள் வசிக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களில் நூற்றுக்கு 90% கல்வி வசதி இன்றி அறியாமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் கூடுமான வரையில் அங்கே பல கல்விச்சாலைகளை ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டும். அதோடு அங்கே ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளே கிடையாது. வைத்திய வசதியில்லாமல் ஏராளமான பேர்கள் ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். பிரசவத்தில் மாத்திரம் மாதத்திற்கு 100 பேர்களுக்குக் குறையாமல் வைத்திய வசதியின்றி இறந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அங்கல்லாம் ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளையும், பிரசவ விடுதிகளையும் ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். பஞ்ச நிவாரண வேலைகளாக அந்த ஜில்லாவிலே கிணறுகள் இப்போது வெட்டப்பட்டுவருகின்றன. அதற்குப் பதிலாக, ரோடு வசதி கொஞ்சமும் இல்லாத அந்தப் பிரதேசத்தில் ரோடுகளை போடுவதை பஞ்ச நிவாரண வேலையாக கைக்கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக இப்போது அங்கே சர்க்காருக்குச் சொந்தமான காடுகள் இருக்கின்றன. அந்த காடுகளில் மாடுகளையும், ஆடுகளையும் மேயவிட வேண்டுமென்றால் பணம் கட்டி காட்டு இலாகாவிலிருந்து பாஸ் வாங்கிக்கொள்ள வேண்டும். அம்மாதிரியேயாவிரைவதற்கு மாடுகளுக்கு மாடு ஒன்றுக்கு 4 அணு வீதமும், ஆடுகளுக்கு ஆடு ஒன்றுக்கு 2 அணு வீதமும் வசூலிக்கப்படுகிறது. ஆனால் பஞ்சாயத்துகளுக்குச் சொந்தமான காடுகளும் உங்கே இருக்கின்றன. அந்தக் காடுகளிலோ மாடு ஒன்றுக்கு 8 அணு வீதமும், ஆடு ஒன்றுக்கு 4 அணு வீதமும் வசூலிக்கிறார்கள். இம்மாதிரி செய்வதற்கு பஞ்சாயத்து காட்டுச் சட்டமிருக்கிறது. அதை உடனே திருத்தி சர்க்கார் காட்டைப் போலவே அதற்கும் மாடு ஒன்றுக்கு 4 அணு வீதமும், ஆடு ஒன்றுக்கு 2 அணு வீதமும் ஏற்படுத்தவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கனம் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் மந்திரி சபையை கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அதோடு பஞ்சாயத்துக் காடுகளிலும் மொத்தம் 10 மாடுகளுக்குத் தான் பாஸ் கொடுக்கப்படும் என்பதாகவும் இருக்கிறது. அதையும் மாற்றி விவசாயிகளுக்கு உள்ள எல்லா மாடுகளுக்கும், ஆடுகளுக்கும் பாஸ் வழங்கும்படி ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக திருவண்ணாமலையில் குடிதண்ணீர் வசதியே கிடையாது. அதனால் ஜனங்கள் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு குடிதண்ணீர் வசதி உடனடியாக செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்ற விஷயத்தையப்பற்றி நான் முன் தடவையே பேசியிருக்கிறேன். நமது முதல் மந்திரி கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்களும் முன்பு ஒரு தடவை பாதாளலிங்க குகையைத் திறந்தவைப்பதற்காக அங்கே வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு அங்கேயுள்ள ஜனங்கள் குடிதண்ணீருக்குப் படும் கஷ்டம் நன்கு தெரியும். அதனால் சாத்தூர் அணைக்கட்டை உடனடியாகக் கட்டி கால்வாய்கள் மூலமாக அங்கேயுள்ள தண்ணீர் கஷ்டத்தை உடனடியாகப் போக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் மிகவும் வணக்கத்துடன் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இப்போது கிராமத்தில் குழந்தைகளைப் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்கு அனுப்ப வேண்டுமென்றால், அதாவது குறிப்பாக ஹைஸ்கூல்களுக்கு அனுப்ப வேண்டுமென்றால் 20 மைல்களாவது போக வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. இதனால் ரொம்ப மாணவர்கள் படிக்க வசதியின்றி தவிக்கிறார்கள். குறைந்தது 5 மைல், 10 மைலுக்குள்ளாகவாவது ஒரு ஹைஸ்கூல் இருக்கும்படி சர்க்கார் உடனடியாக பல ஹைஸ்கூல்களை கிராமப்புறங்களில் ஏற்படுத்தவேண்டும்.

“இவைகளில் எல்லாம் கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்களுடைய மந்திரி சபை கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டுமென்பதாகக் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு, கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியாருடைய மந்திரி சபை நீடுழி வாழ வேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் பிரார்த்தித்துக் கொண்டு என்னுடைய சிற்றூரையை இத்துடன் முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

[4th July 1952]

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member who has just sat down has raised a point, though he has not raised it as a point of breach of privilege. Perhaps Editors in our land are not aware that the publication of certain things is treated as a breach of privilege. For instance, publication of false or perverted accounts of proceedings, and gross and wilful misrepresentation of particular Members' speeches constitute a breach of privilege. After this country attained freedom, the privileges applicable to the House of Commons apply to this House also. I am not taking any action as the hon. Member has not raised it as a question of breach of privilege. I am, however, giving this information to the Editors for their future guidance.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ It may be made clear, Sir, that the hon. Member to whom the statement is attributed also supports the objection because he says that he did not make that statement. Therefore, there is absolutely no room for doubt. I hope the representatives of that particular paper here in the press gallery will take note of this warning.”

* SRI M. HANUMANTHA RAO :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the proposals made in this budget. Immediately after I say this, perhaps the Hon. Chief Minister will say that it is opposition for opposition's sake. It is not like that. The proposals in the budget are opposed because they do not satisfy the minimum programme which had been laid down by the United Democratic Front. Because the budget does not satisfy the minimum programme of the United Democratic Front, I am bound to oppose it.

“ Before going into the details of the budget, I wish to say certain things. We are generally accused of collecting grievances, bundling them up and presenting them in this House. I may draw the attention of the Hon. Chief Minister to the speech of Sri R. V. Swaminathan, an hon. Member of this House belonging to the Congress Party. Even though the members of the Congress Party did not speak for four days, the moment they opened their lips they could not but reflect and express the discontent outside. Because there are real grievances of the people and they have got to be ventilated. It is over a grievance-ridden State that our great Rajaji, the Hon. Chief Minister, is ruling. Because there are grievances prevailing, we are bound to ventilate all of them here.

“ So far as this budget is concerned, it does not materially help the backward areas. I will give an instance. The expenditure on Electricity during the last six years is nearly Rs. 29 crores. The amount spent for the backward region—I mean the Andhra area—during the period is only Rs. 8½ crores. I find that a cut of 41 per cent has been effected in the provision made for Electricity in the interim budget. The cut of as much as nearly 40 per cent for a backward area like Rayalaseema where famine and pestilence have been prevailing for a long time is very drastic. The people there cannot be satisfied with the simple fact that

4th July 1952] [Sri M. Hanumantha Rao]

four Rayalaseema people have been chosen as Ministers. They will be satisfied only with the real amelioration of their conditions. Certain ameliorative measures have got to be taken there. Provision for them is lacking in this budget. Backward areas are not going to be uplifted by the proposals made in this budget. That is why unfortunately we have to oppose this budget.

" There are proposals for levying certain new taxes. Whenever we oppose any taxation, we are told that no Government can carry on without levying taxes, and we are asked why we oppose taxation without suggesting other sources of revenue for the Government. It is true that no Government can carry on without taxation. Our request to the Hon. Chief Minister is to tax the rich and relieve the burden of taxation on the poor who are already heavily taxed.

" I know, Sir, the way in which the Ministry has been functioning. It does not permit our Hon. Chief Minister to part company with the rich and relieve the poor of taxation measures. This is not wholly acceptable to the Hon. Chief Minister. We have got certain proposals in this behalf. There are the coffee plantations and tea plantations. These are the lowest taxed in our State, even according to the Subramanyam Committee report. What taxation proposals have there been to tax these plantations? No proposals at all. We think that taxing the plantations is one source of revenue to the Government. We believe that, if people who can afford to pay taxes can be taxed, there will certainly be enough resources to carry on our administration. The rich are not being taxed. It is stated that there is a proposal to levy a betterment tax. What is this levy? It is a tax upon those people who are sought to be relieved of age-long famine and pestilence. They have already suffered for many years. The moment the Government bring forward certain projects for execution, they also bring in measures for taxation. How do they propose to relieve the burden of the poor agriculturists? They are not going to be relieved of the tax burden. For supply of water, water-tax is already there. This water-tax itself is more than what people can pay. Why should they be taxed now extravagantly? This betterment tax proposal is a very damaging proposal, and it does not help the backward areas where people are already suffering.

11-30
a.m.

" Then, Sir, I come to the tax on bus passengers. This is a proposal which will tax the poor who are already groaning under poverty. This proposal should be opposed. It is not only I, who happen to be a Communist, but many from that side also have stated that this is not a good proposal. It will only be worsening the position of the already suffering people. Certain newspapers who generally support the policies of this Government have written editorials commenting against this proposal. So, Sir, we are bound to oppose this tax. Whatever proposals there are, they are all for taxing the poor people and not the rich who can afford to pay. That is why we are forced to oppose this budget and the proposals contained therein. When we say that there is so much

[Sri M. Hanumantha Rao] [4th July 1952]

of wastage, it is said that that is all necessary, and that there should be this pomp and splendour for the Governor. Rs. 10 lakhs are sought to be spent under various heads for the maintenance of the pomp and splendour of the Governor. Nobody can accept this statement. We are bound to oppose this expenditure. Our State cannot afford to maintain all this costly paraphernalia. There is terrible wastage of public funds, and this wastage must be stopped. Our public funds are wasted in many other ways also. I bring to the notice of this House that Hon. Ministers themselves are utilizing the public funds for their party propaganda. It is no doubt a serious charge. I was myself a witness to all this expenditure. I shall bring to the notice of this House what took place recently. Recently in Kakinada, elections took place. What happened there? Just one week before the elections, four Ministers (not one or two) found their way to Kakinada from Madras. Why did they rush up there? Had they gone there as Congress leaders, I would have no objection. Did they go in that capacity? No. They went there as Ministers drawing travelling allowance from the State. What did they do there? They went on doing propaganda for the candidate whom they were supporting. All this trouble of going to Kakinada they took in order to promise to the people this and that, and to ask them to vote for the candidate whom they supported. The people understood what was going on. That is why, they did not recognize and they did not support the candidate whom these Ministers supported. The Minister for Harijan Uplift was there and he was promising to the people proper housing and so many things. The Minister for Education also was there. The Ministers for Rural Welfare and Revenue were also there. The Hon. the Minister for Revenue (Mr. Manickavelu Naicker) found his way to Kakinada in order to see that certain Agnikula Kshatriyas were called in, in the name of Vanniyakula Kshatriya Sangam in Tamilnad, and asked to vote for the candidate supported by the Congress. This Minister went there with the purpose of telling those elders, in the name of Agnikula Kshatriyas, to support the candidate whom the Congress supported. I ask these Hon. Gentlemen straightway to answer one question: Did they not use the State buses for their propaganda? Did they not use the Prohibition vans for their party purpose? The people there are eyewitnesses to all that I say. In this way public funds are being wasted for party purposes. If an ordinary servant of this Government does such a thing, he is immediately charged or accused of bribery or corruption. But what happens to the people at the head of the administration when they do these things? Nothing. That is why we are not inspired by this budget, and we are not going to support this budget. We oppose the budget. When it is stated that there is so much waste of money on Police, it is argued that crimes have increased and people have become criminals. I ask the Hon. the Chief Minister, 'who is responsible for all this crime?' If people are becoming increasingly criminal, are they to be accused of crime or is the arch criminal somewhere else to be accused of crime? Who is the creator of all these

4th July 1952] [Sri M. Hanumantha Rao]

crimes? I do not have any quarrel with God—the Almighty God. I am not quarrelling with Him. But the creator of all these crimes is the State, which does not appease the hunger of the people. The Hon. the Chief Minister said 'it is stated that there are so many unemployed people. If we retrench, then it is said that so many are thrown out of employment. They gather together, and hunger marches and other demonstrations are brought about. How are we to get along? You say there is waste of public money on unnecessary services, but at the same time you complain against retrenchment.' Sir, we are accused of this contradiction. But I say that it is the responsibility of the Government to see that all the people are supplied with their minimum requirements, namely, food and cloth. Unless these two things are given, humanity cannot survive. When these two things are absent, what is the use of the Government saying that they are here to protect the State and the people? People are dying of starvation. What is the use of our keeping Police stations? It is said that the present Police is not sufficient, crimes are on the increase, and, therefore, we must have more Police. My own opinion is that whatever might be the number of Policemen (even if all the Congressmen are made Policemen), still the problem cannot be solved, and crimes cannot be put an end to. Why do I say this? There are certain fundamental issues to be tackled, and unless these issues are tackled, there will be no good. The foremost issue I talk of is the abolition of landlordism. Unless landlordism is removed, no good will come to the people. It is not a novel idea which a Communist like me brings forward. It is a thing which is being adopted by Sheikh Abdullah, the follower of the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Why should we not adopt the same reforms in our State also? According to the Congress Working Committee, this proposal is being seriously considered, and they want to bring in land reforms. I am not one who believes that the Congress Working Committee will implement this proposal. According to press reports, the Congress Working Committee proposes to fix a maximum limit to an individual's holding, say, 50 acres or 100 acres. That is the limit they propose to prescribe. I ask the Hon. the Chief Minister and his colleagues whether there is any such proposal in this budget. There is no trace of it. That is why we are bound to oppose this budget. Unless the fundamental issues are tackled, there is no good saying that crimes are increasing, and therefore more Police are required. The Police cannot put an end to poverty. The Police cannot put an end to crimes. The arch criminal, if I may be permitted to say so, is the Government which is not discharging its duties, which is not giving food to the hungry people, and which is making people vagabonds. The Government make the people go about pick-pocketing. I ask our Chief Minister to consider these things, and carry out certain fundamental reforms in our State. He has stated that even if he accepted all the policies of the Opposition, the Opposition would rather change their policies than support him. I assure the Chief Minister, Sir, that he need not have any such doubt. On the other hand, as my

[Sri M. Hanumantha Rao] [4th July 1952]

11-45
a.m.

hon. Friend Mr. Kalyanasundaram has stated, many of the people who are backing him now from the Treasury Benches will be opposing him and probably our Chief Minister will not be the Chief Minister then and will be sitting on the Opposition Benches instead on the Treasury Benches. All these fundamental issues have got to be tackled. For instance, I take the handloom industry. The Hon. the Chief Minister made certain sweet speeches about that industry. He wanted to satisfy the people concerned with sweet words. But what is happening in practice? The handloom weavers are starving. While the Hon. the Chief Minister was going on appealing to the people to buy more handloom cloth than mill cloth, what was happening in the Centre? There it was the Congress Party that proposed and brought into effect an increase in the prices of yarn. So, whatever the left hand of the Congress Party is promising, the right hand is taking away. That is why I say the same old policy is being continued. However much we plead, it is said that it is a concern of the Central Government. But can the Central Government carry into effect all these damaging proposals, if we all unitedly fight against them? No, they will not dare to do it. But it is not to be and the problem of the handloom weavers remains unsolved.

"Sir, I have personally gone to many of the handloom co-operative societies and found many of the difficulties experienced by them. They were not satisfied with the sweet words of the Hon. the Chief Minister. I asked them plainly whether they were satisfied with them. The reply was in the negative. I said, 'The Chief Minister has appealed to people to buy more handloom cloth than mill cloth. Why are you not satisfied?' The truth is this. In practice, stocks are piling up in all the co-operative societies. In the last six months, the prices have come down. Six months back, the price of a pair of dhoties was Rs. 14 and to-day it is Rs. 7. In spite of this drastic cut in prices, people are not coming forward to buy them because they have lost their purchasing power. Therefore, there is no use appealing to people to buy more handloom cloth without redressing their grievances by effecting certain fundamental changes to ameliorate their condition and thereby increasing their purchasing capacity. A handloom weaver who was paid Rs. 1-4-0 six months back is now paid ten annas and one can easily understand the starvation level in which he is living. So, however much the Hon. the Chief Minister has promised them, it is not brought into practice and the conditions of the handloom weavers have not improved.

"Sir, it is said that the policy of Prohibition is working well. No doubt the poor people should be relieved of the burden of tax. But certain realities and objectives have got to be taken into consideration. By mere wishful thinking, we cannot effect a thing. I can give my own experience of how the Prohibition policy is working in my constituency. There is a police station in my native village and it is a temporary one. As the Hon. the Minister for Prohibition has already said, in Guntur the Police are entrusted with the work of enforcing Prohibition. There are 12 villages in

4th July 1952] [Sri M. Hanumantha Rao]

that circle which pay to the Police Rs. 300 each per month. It is a fact so well-known that anybody will be ready to give that information. These Rs. 300 are paid not by all the villagers but by certain people who are carrying on the manufacture of illicit liquor. So, illicit liquor is being sold there and Prohibition is not enforced there in practice. If Prohibition is enforced there properly, there is none who will welcome it more than myself. Unfortunately, we have lost some sixteen or seventeen crores of rupees which were available to us formerly from this source. Are the people at least relieved of this burden? No, they are not. Bribery is there. If some people are caught drunken, they are immediately taken to the Police station, some money is received from them and they are let off. So, the drinking habit is not gone. We can realize it by an objective study of the realities. It is not necessary for a Communist Member or a Member of the United Democratic Front alone to point this out. Even many of the hon. Members sitting on the other side will certainly give this information to the Hon. the Chief Minister and his Colleagues. The explanation offered is that we are bound to spend more on police. But what is the nature of the crime committed? The crime is that a man is found drunk. Such a man is taken to task but if some bribe is offered, he is let off. Thus the poor people are paying more in the shape of bribes. The Government should realize this.

" In our district of Guntur, there are 10 temporary police stations. On all the temporary police stations nearly Rs. 3 lakhs, I estimate, are being spent every year. But what is the use of these police stations? People are prone, and especially the Hon. the Chief Minister is prone, to believe that if the police are removed, the Communists will be free to create chaos. It is not so, Sir. You can go and enquire anywhere in these areas where there are temporary police stations and you will find that the people are suffering a lot because of these police stations. It is said that crimes are on the increase. Why? Previously in the matter of household quarrels, the practice was for a village elder to come, adjust matters and bring about a compromise between the quarrelling parties. But what is happening now after the advent of these police stations? Even in matters of household quarrel, the police people are interfering. I can give concrete examples of this. In my own village and in the neighbouring villages, many a time the police interfered unnecessarily in household quarrels. Suppose two people fight about some cattle-feeding tub. Immediately the husband and wife are called to the police station and unless they give the police something, they are not let off.

" As regards the question of criminal tribes, the Congress Party was canvassing for the abolition of the Criminal Tribes Act. But even to-day the criminal tribes are suffering as they were suffering before under the British rule. In my own village there are some 200 families belonging to the criminal tribes. In the last six months some four of them who have been living there for a good many years were arrested four times and kept in custody for 15 or 20 days every time, because some theft had taken place some

[Sri M. Hanumantha Rao] [4th July 1952]

20 or 40 miles away. But on no occasion they could find any concrete evidence to charge them. That is why I say the Congress Party has been pursuing the same old policy and the people have not been relieved of their miseries.

"Now, I come to the housing problem which happens to be the most acute problem in the rural parts. Any Government which is serious about the matter can tackle easily, in my opinion, this problem. If we go to the rural parts, we will receive complaints about the housing problem from the agricultural labourers. They have been suffering for a long time for want of some house sites. Sometimes they write to the Government that there is a site in some place and appeal to them to acquire that site and allow them to build their huts there. The Government then make an enquiry. The landlord objects to its acquisition. Simply because the landlord objects, it is likely that sometimes poor, middle and rich peasants also object, and the Government then give up the idea instead of paying them some compensation and acquiring the site. Thus the problem remains there and the Government do not make any serious attempt to solve it. So, we cannot support the proposals contained in the Budget."

12
noon.

* SRI C. KUNHIRAMA KURUP :—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, ഈ സഭയുടെ മുഖമേന്മയായ ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ച ഒരു നിരൂപണം ചെയ്യുമ്പോൾ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ഒരു ഭാഗത്തുള്ള സാമ്പത്തിക സാമൂഹ്യവ്യവസ്ഥയെ സംബന്ധിച്ച ഒരു അവലോകനം ചെയ്യുന്നത് അസ്ഥാനത്തിലാകുകയില്ലെന്നു ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. ഒരു രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ സാമൂഹ്യവ്യവസ്ഥയെ ബാധിക്കുന്ന ഏറ്റവും പ്രധാനപ്പെട്ട ഒരു മായ മനുഷ്യന്റെ ദൈനംദിന ജീവിതത്തെ ഗവർണ്മെന്റ് ഒരു പുതുക്കി ഒരു സമീകരണ രൂപം നൽകുക എന്ന തടസ്സമാക്കിയിട്ടുവെന്നും നാം ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെപ്പറ്റി പട്ടം ലോചിക്കുവാൻ, ഈ കാഴ്ചത്തപ്പറ്റി ചിന്തിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇന്ന് ഈ സഭയുടെ മുഖമേന്മയായ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് നാട്ടുകാരെ പൊതുവെ ബാധിക്കുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങളെ സ്പർശിക്കുന്നില്ല എന്ന് വ്യക്തമാക്കേണ്ടതിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ എല്ലാ ദേശീയ പ്രശ്നത്തിന്റെയും പുരോഗതി നിലകൊള്ളുന്ന ഒരു പുത്തൻ സാമൂഹ്യവ്യവസ്ഥയുടെ രൂപീകരണത്തിലാണെന്നുള്ളതിനെപ്പറ്റി യാതൊരു സംശയവുമില്ല. ഈ സാമൂഹ്യവ്യവസ്ഥയെ സ്ഥാപിക്കുവാനുള്ള ഉത്തരവാദിത്വം ഏറ്റെടുക്കാനെ ഭരണാധികാരി അതിനു എതിരായി സാധാരണക്കാരനെ ബാധിക്കാത്ത സഹനികൾ ഏറ്റെടുക്കുന്നതിൽ ആരോപിക്കുന്ന അസ്ഥാനത്തു അകുകയില്ലെന്ന് എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നു. ഈ പുതിയ ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെപ്പറ്റി ചിന്തിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഈ പുതും ചില വ്യക്തികളുടെ തല്പര്യങ്ങളെ ബാധിക്കുന്ന ഒരു ബഡ്ജറ്റാണെന്ന് പറയേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ പുതും ചില വ്യക്തികളിൽനിന്നു വ്യത്യസ്തമായ ഒരു നിലപാട് കൈവരുത്തുവാൻ ഉതകുന്ന ഒരു സാമൂഹിക സമീകരണ പദ്ധതി കൈകാര്യം ചെയ്യുവാനുള്ള ഒരു തത്വസംഹിതയുടെ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിലാണ് ഈ ഭരണാധികാരി നിലകൊള്ളേണ്ടിയിരുന്നത്, പക്ഷെ, അത് അവരുടെ നിലപാട്. കഴിഞ്ഞ കാലഘട്ടങ്ങളെ ലെല്ലാത്തെന്നും ഇന്നു നിലവിലുള്ള സാമൂഹ്യവ്യവസ്ഥക്കു ഒരു മാറ്റം വരുത്തുവാൻ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങൾക്കായു ഏറ്റവും വമ്പിച്ച അഭ്യർത്ഥനയായിരുന്ന വികേന്ദ്രീകരണം എന്നത്, വികേന്ദ്രീകരണം എന്നാൽ സാമൂഹ്യവും സാമ്പത്തികവും രാഷ്ട്രീയകരവുമായി എല്ലാവിധ പ്രശ്നങ്ങളെയും ഒരു പോലെ ബാധിക്കുന്ന ഒരു തത്വസംഹിതയാണ്.

“അതുകൊണ്ട് സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം എത്രയും ദൃഢാന്തങ്ങൾ ഈ സഭയുടെ മുഖമേന്മയായ ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെ ബാധിക്കും. എന്റെ നാട്ടിൽനിന്നു നടന്ന അക്രമങ്ങളുടെയും അനീതികളുടെയും ഒരു നീണ്ട ചരിത്രം ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ പറയുവാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഓരോർ ചില സംഭവങ്ങൾ മാത്രമാണ് ഇവിടെ എടുത്തുകാണിക്കുവാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നത്. കറുപ്പുനാട് താലൂക്കിൽ എടച്ചേരിയിൽ നടന്ന കലപാതകത്തെ പറ്റി എല്ലാ രാഷ്ട്രീയ

4th July 1952] [Sri C. Kunhirama Kurup]

കക്ഷികളും കന്നടപോലെയോടുകൂടി ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയിൽപ്പെടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഈ കൊലപാതകം ഉണ്ടായത്—നാട്ടുകാർ വിവരിക്കുന്നത് ശരിയാണെങ്കിൽ—12 മണിക്ക് പച്ചപകലായിരുന്നു. എല്ലാ രാത്രിയും കക്ഷികളും ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയിൽ പെടുത്തിട്ടുള്ള ഈ കാര്യത്തെപ്പറ്റി അന്വേഷിക്കാൻ പോലീസ് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർക്കു വിവരം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടാകും. ഇതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് യാതൊരു വിവരവും ഇതുവരെ ഇല്ല. മലബാർ മന്ത്രി ശ്രീമാൻ കട്ടിത്തുറൻ നായരുടെ മലബാർ പട്ടണസംരംഭത്തിൽ ഇത്രയും ഭയങ്കരമായ ഒരു കലപാതകത്തെപ്പറ്റി അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയിൽ പെടുത്തിട്ട് ഇതുവരെ അതിനു ഒരു സമാധാനം നൽകുവാനുള്ള സന്ദർഭം ഉണ്ടായിട്ടില്ലെന്ന് വ്യസനസമരം പറയേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ നാടിലെ എല്ലാവിധ പ്രശ്നങ്ങൾക്കും ഒരു പോ-വഴി കാണണമെങ്കിൽ, സംസ്ഥാനികവും സാമൂഹ്യവുമായിട്ടുള്ള അഭിലാഷവത്തം ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൽ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണം. അതിനായി വികേന്ദ്രീകരണത്തിന്റെ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ ഈ പ്രശ്നങ്ങളെ സമീപിക്കണം എന്ന് ഞാൻ അവകാശപ്പെടുന്നു. അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്താൽ കാലാതാമ്യം ഈ യോഗത്തിന്റെ മുമ്പാകെയുള്ള ബഡ്ജറ്റ് നാട്ടുകാരുടെ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് അപ്പു എന്നുള്ളതിനു സംശയമില്ല. നാട്ടിന്റെ ഞാൻ വിചിന്തകൾ എന്തെല്ലാമാണ് എന്ന് ചിന്തിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. Decentralisation സംബന്ധിച്ച് ഇന്നത്തെ ഗവണ്മെന്റിനെ സ്വാഗതം ചെയ്യണം എന്നുള്ളതിനു സംശയമില്ല. എന്നാൽ ഭക്ഷണത്തിന്റെ കാര്യത്തിൽ അപര്യാപ്തമായ എന്റെ ക്ലിഷ്ടയെപ്പറ്റി ഇവിടെനിന്നു സംസാരിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഈ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെന്റുകൾ വളരെ ഗൗരവമേറിയതാണെന്നു പറയാതെ നില്ക്കുമല്ല. Decentralisation വിജയിക്കാൻ പോകുന്നതെന്നും എന്തും അത് എന്തെല്ലാം, വ്യക്തികളിൽ കൂടിയാണ് വിജയിക്കാൻ പോകുന്നതെന്നും പര്യാപ്തമാക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. Decentralisation വിജയിക്കുക, ഞാൻ പരിപൂർണ്ണമായി വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. അത് സംസ്ഥാനത്തിന്റെ ഭക്ഷണകാര്യത്തിൽ ഉള്ള സ്വാധീന പൂർണ്ണതയിൽ ആണെന്നും, ഭക്ഷണകാര്യത്തിൽ സ്വയം പൂർണ്ണത വേണ്ടമെങ്കിൽ ഉപോന്നം വലിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതെന്നു പറയേണ്ടതില്ലല്ലോ. മലബാറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുടത്തോളം കൂടി സംരംഭങ്ങളിൽ കൈകാര്യം ചെയ്യുവാനുള്ള സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം നാട്ടുകാർക്കു കൂടിക്കാണു കൂടിമുകളിൽ സ്ഥിരവകാശമില്ല. കൂടി ഇല്ലാത്ത സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ കൂടിച്ചെയ്യുവാൻ വകവെച്ചു കൊടുക്കാൻ ഉള്ള ഒരു നിയമം ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ മുമ്പിലുണ്ട്. കൂടിക്കാർ കൂടി ചെയ്യുവാൻ പ്രോത്സാഹനം നൽകുവാനുള്ള ഒരു പദ്ധതിയും ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ മുമ്പാകെയുണ്ട്. എത്രയും ഏക സ്ഥലങ്ങൾ ഇന്നും തരിയായി കിടക്കുന്നു. അതിൽ കൂടിച്ചെയ്യുവാൻ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് പരിശ്രമിക്കുന്നില്ല. കൂടാതെ കൂടിച്ചെയ്യുന്ന സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽനിന്നു അതിനു പ്രോത്സാഹനം കൊടുക്കുവാനുള്ള ഒരു പരിപാടി ഗവണ്മെന്റിനു ഇല്ലെന്നും, കൂടിക്കാണു അവൻ കൂടിച്ചെയ്യുന്ന സ്ഥലത്തിന്റെ ഉടമസ്ഥതയും നിക്ഷേപിക്കുകയാണ്. ഈ പരമ്പര:സ്ഥിതിയിൽ സ്വയം പൂർണ്ണതയുടെ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ വിനിയന്ത്രണം ഫലിക്കാൻ, വിജയിക്കാൻ പോകുന്നതോ എന്ന് ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുകയുള്ളതേ. ഇതില്ലാതെ വിനിയന്ത്രണം യഥാർത്ഥമായി വിജയിക്കാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല. കഴിഞ്ഞ കൊല്ലത്തിൽ മലബാറിനെ ബാധിച്ചിരുന്ന ഏറ്റവും പ്രധാനമായ ഒരു നിയമമാണല്ലോ മലബാർ കടിയായുടേതെന്നു നിയമം. ഇതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുടത്തോളം മലബാറിൽ അങ്ങനെയൊന്നും എല്ലാ രാത്രിയും കക്ഷികളും ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതാണ്. ഈ നിയമം കടിയായാൻ പുരോഗതിക്കു, കടിയായാൻ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ നികുതിക്കാൻ പര്യാപ്തമാക്കിയെന്നു സ്ഥിരവകാശം കൊടുക്കുന്നു. ഈ കടിയായ നിയമം യഥാർത്ഥമായി കൂടിക്കാണു മോശമാണ് ചെയ്യുക എന്ന് പലവരു ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയിൽ പെടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഈ അതിപ്രധാനമായ പ്രശ്നത്തെപ്പറ്റി ഈ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ പ്രതിപാദ്യം എന്തെന്നു അന്വേഷിക്കുന്നതിൽ ഇതുവരെയും ഇന്നുവരെയും കൂടിക്കാണു കടിയായ നിയമത്തിൽ മറ്റൊരു ഒരു ആവശ്യം പര്യാപ്തമാക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. കടിയായ നിയമം കൊണ്ടുണ്ടാകുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങളെ യാതൊന്നും നന്നായി വിവരിക്കിട്ടില്ല. ഈ വക കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഉത്തരവാദിയെപ്പറ്റി ഉത്തരം പറഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ലെങ്കിൽ നാട്ടുകാർ നിരാശപ്പെടും. ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുടത്തോളം ഇതു നാട്ടുകാരുടെ പ്രശ്നങ്ങളെ ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്നില്ലെന്ന് വളരെ പരാമർശം ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ എന്താണ് ഒരു പ്രത്യേകതയുള്ളത്. നിയമവും സമാധാനവും പാലാസംസ്ഥാനികൾക്കുണ്ടെന്നു പോലീസ് ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെന്റിനു വകയരുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുമാത്രം, പലപ്പോഴും കൂടി എന്തെല്ലാതെ, ഇതിൽ വ്യവസായിക സമീകരണ പദ്ധതികൾക്കു ഉത്തരം

64046

[Sri C. Kunhirama Kurup] [4th July 1952]

യാതൊന്നും ഇതു ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്നില്ല. ഈ നിലയിൽ നിലവിലുള്ള സാമൂഹ്യവ്യവസ്ഥയിൽ ഒരു മാനം വരുത്തുവാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്ന ഒരു ഗവർണ്മെന്റുള്ള ഇന്നു നിലവിലുള്ളതു എന്നു പറയുമ്പോൾ അതു ഞെററാകുകയില്ലെന്നു എന്നിങ്ങനെയോന്നു. നാട്ടുകാരുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ അഥാ എന്തുവിധത്തിലുള്ള ആവശ്യമായാലും ശരി അതു നിർവ്വഹിക്കുന്നതെങ്കിൽ ഒരു പുതിയ സാമൂഹ്യപദ്ധതികളാക്കെ കഴികയില്ല. അതിനെ ഒരു മാനം വരുത്തണമെന്നു വിധത്തിലുള്ള നടപടികൾ ഗവർണ്മെന്റ് എടുക്കണം കാലത്തോളം ഞാൻ പറയുന്നു ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് ഒരു യാഥാസ്ഥിതിക ബഡ്ജറ്റാണെന്നും, ഒരു മുതലാളിത്വ ബഡ്ജറ്റാണെന്നും. സാധാരണക്കാരന്റെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾക്കുവേണ്ടി നിലകൊള്ളുന്നു എന്നു അവകാശപ്പെടുന്ന ഈ ഗവർണ്മെന്റ് സാധാരണക്കാരനെ നന്നാക്കുവാൻ ഉണ്ടു ഒരു ബഡ്ജറ്റല്ല ഇന്നു ഈ സഭയുടെ മുഖാമുഖം വെച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു. കഴിഞ്ഞ കാലത്തുള്ള ബഡ്ജറ്റിന്റെ ഒരു തുടർച്ചയാണ് ഇതു എന്നല്ലാതെ പുതുതായ ഒരു ബഡ്ജറ്റ് എന്നു നിലയിൽ ഇതിനെ വീക്ഷിക്കുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. നാട്ടിൻപുറങ്ങളിലുള്ള കഷ്ടതയുള്ള സ.ബ. സി.പി. പദ്ധതികൾക്കിടയിൽ Electricity യെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു എന്റെ സേനാനിതൻ ഈ യോഗത്തിന്റെ മുഖാമുഖം വെച്ചു. മലബാർ ഇതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു വളരെ വിചിന്താക്കമാണ്. Irrigation നെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു കേന്ദ്രത്തോളം നാട്ടിൻപുറങ്ങളിൽ ജലസേചന പദ്ധതികളുടെ അഭാവത്തിൽ വളരെ നഷ്ടങ്ങൾ സംഭവിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. ആയിരം രണ്ടായിരം ഉറപ്പിക ചെയ്യപ്പെട്ടു നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തേണ്ട ചെറിയ ജലസേചന പദ്ധതികൾ ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ വകയിരുത്തിയിട്ടില്ല. വികേന്ദ്രീകരണത്തിൽ വിശ്വാസമുണ്ടായിരുന്നെങ്കിൽ ചെറിയ ഇറിഗേഷൻ പദ്ധതികൾ നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുമായിരുന്നു; പുതിയ ആസൂത്രികർ ഉൾനാടുകളിൽ ഉണ്ടാക്കുമായിരുന്നു; സ്കൂളുകൾ ഉൾനാടുകളിൽ ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തുമായിരുന്നു; നാട്ടുകാർ ഉതകുന്ന സാമ്പത്തിക സഹകരണ പദ്ധതികൾ അതിൽ ഉൾക്കൊള്ളിക്കുമായിരുന്നു. ഇന്നും ഉൾനാടുകൾ കയ്യെടുക്കുന്നു; കൃഷിസ്ഥലങ്ങൾ പശ്ചാത്തീകരിക്കുന്നു. ചൊത്തത്തിൽ പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് നാട്ടുകാരെ ബാധിക്കുന്ന പ്രശ്നങ്ങളെ പരിഹരിക്കാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്ന നാട്ടുകാരുടെ ബഡ്ജറ്റല്ല, ഒരു മുതലാളിത്വ ബഡ്ജറ്റാണെന്നു പറയുവാൻ ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു."

* SRI T. ANANTHA PAI:—" Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the Budget generally. Rajaji must have found"

MR. SPEAKER:—" It is better if the hon. Member says ' Mr. Rajagopalachari ' or ' the Chief Minister ' instead of saying ' Rajaji ' ."

12-15
p.m.

* SRI T. ANANTHA PAI:—" The Hon. the Chief Minister must have found that he had to deal not only with difficult politics but also difficult finances in this State placed as we are to-day. I know very often the main charge for the present state of affairs has been laid at the door of the Prohibition policy of the Government, and it is said that if that policy had not been there, our finances would have been very much better. I must say that the financial position of the other States that have not followed this policy has not been any better. I wish to make it very clear that there is no reason for this sort of complaint against Prohibition, whatever may be the merits or demerits of the Prohibition policy. So far as this State is concerned, whatever money it may have lost on account of Prohibition, has been made up by other ways and by imposing other taxes. From the viewpoint of general revenues, therefore, there has not been much loss so far as this State is concerned. As a matter of fact, if we carefully go through the Budget, we find that we have been placed in a very bad condition. I say this, because we have to face facts. We are resolved

4th July 1952] [Sri T. Anantha Pai]

to see that these difficulties which are facing us at the present time are tackled in the best manner possible. The expenditure is increasing, but at the same time, the demand for more and more schemes is forthcoming not only from this side of the House, but from the other side also. Because, we have promised so many things to our electorate we feel that it is necessary that all these things must be done forthwith, irrespective of the practical difficulties of the Government. While one can appreciate our anxiety, at the same time, we should be very much concerned with the fact that what is most important is that the State must be solvent. Only when the State is solvent, it can try to solve the difficulties, try to help every part of the country and try to meet the demands of the people as far as practicable. We find one significant sentence in the Budget speech of the Hon. the Minister for Finance. He says, 'Under the agreement with the Bank, the maximum overdraft that we are eligible for at one time, is only Rs. 80 lakhs, but there were occasions in the last two years when the overdraft amounted to several times that figure.' It is not merely a question of overdrawal. It is a question of the Banker being very good to us, and the Banker has been very lenient to us. But I think that it is certainly not a matter of pride to us that we have been reduced to this sort of financial position. Of course, after this Government took charge, I have noticed several things which are well on the way to prevent a crisis of this nature. I am only pointing out the difficulties. It is really necessary to point out that if so many things have to be done, there must be some taxes. If we follow the policies and programmes laid down by the Members of the Opposition, I am sure that it will not be possible to carry out those programmes without having at least ten times the present taxes. If they think that as an alternative to these taxes, they can go into the open market and raise loans, I am afraid that they will be making a very great mistake. The lender in the open market wants to be assured that the Government that is in power is stable and to know whether the Government wants the money for any productive purpose and whether that Government has got confidence to discharge its functions. Now, the Hon. the Chief Minister had very rightly pointed out that he was seeking the vote of confidence as he had to go to the open market to borrow money and so it was necessary to impress on the investing world that there would be a stable Government. We are not the only borrowers in the country. Every other State will be doing the same thing. We also find that many States have presented a deficit Budget. Even the Central Government which has a very ambitious programme—the five-year plan and all that—must have sufficient funds. It is very difficult to understand how exactly we are going to raise all the money if we have to carry out all these programmes.

"We have to repay about two crores of rupees to the open market this year, and the Hon. the Finance Minister has said that he is likely to go to the open market for raising a loan. That is the position to-day and I do not know what exactly the position is likely

[Sri T. Anantha Pai]

[4th July 1952]

to be in the future. Anyway, it is not a very happy state of affairs that we have been called upon to draw from the Revenue Reserve Fund. It is said that this fund was intended to meet the needs of the lean years. I do not think that the present may be said to be lean period. The lean period is yet to come and we may have to be prepared for it. Anyway, in the light of all these, it is necessary that some amount of taxation has to be borne. While I would like to lay emphasis on the revenue side, I would like to lay greater emphasis on expenditure side as well. Naturally, one knows that expenditure has to be incurred. In domestic economy, we restrict our expenditure according to our income, but under the principle of public finance, the Government determine their expenditure and then try to raise money to cover it. But I think it is very good to remember the maxim, 'cut the coat according to the cloth' while managing public finance. No doubt the ideal of a Welfare State is there and it is a very ambitious ideal indeed. But, if the body is big and the cloth is small, we cannot cover the entire body and some part or other will expose itself. That is why I said that the maxim should be remembered by those who handle public finance. Therefore, it is as much the concern of the Opposition as of all of us on this side to see that our finances are put on a sound footing. I repeat once again that it is not Prohibition that is responsible for the loss of revenue. What is called for at the present time is effective control over the expenditure that the State has to incur. I lay great stress on this point, because oftentimes we hear complaints from all quarters that but for this Prohibition, everything would have been all right. Whenever grievances are brought to notice, it is pointed out that but for this Prohibition they could have been solved. To-day, the entire teaching profession is looking at this Rs. 18½ crores and says that but for this Prohibition policy of the Government, they can get all their allowances. Similarly, the Non-Gazetted Officers feel that but for this, all their grievances could have been satisfactorily solved. Again, such of us as want bridges and roads and other amenities provided feel that but for this, we could have got all that we wanted. In this manner if all of us are to make a demand on that Rs. 18½ crores, I am sure none of our demands will be satisfied, and we will continue to be in the same state in which we are. Even in the communist country of Russia they did not want to have a vested interest in liquor sales. I say that even the Russian Government has not used this particular form of taxation. The Government have got many methods of taxation, and one of them is collection of excise duties on liquor. If the Government give up that revenue and introduce some other tax to cover any loss that may occur consequent on the giving up of that revenue, there is nothing fundamentally wrong about it. This does not mean that I say that Prohibition has been a grand success. I am not one of those who believe that it has been a success. Whatever may be the objective, the whole thing is going to be judged by the results. A lot of money, nearly a crore annually, is being spent on its enforcement. Can it not be saved by dispensing with

4th July 1952]

[Sri T. Anantha Pai]

the Prohibition staff and leaving it to the police to enforce the law? Why should there be all kinds of irritating and irksome restrictions on the honest citizens? This makes him sympathise with the drunkard and public co-operation is increasingly weaned away. People oppose Prohibition on different grounds. I wish to bring to the notice of hon. Members that unfortunately for this State, Prohibition and sales tax have started together. There are many who seriously think that if Prohibition goes, sales tax will also go. But I must warn that as things stand at present, if Prohibition has to go, sales tax will definitely continue. If anybody is thinking that sales tax also will go along with the giving up of Prohibition, I wish to dispel that sort of idea from his mind. Placed as we are, it is not possible to get on without this tax. But this does not mean that sales tax on everything is justified though it would be very difficult to exempt foodstuffs and other essential articles from sales-tax immediately. Of course, it cannot be denied that the incidence of taxation has been very heavy, and especially the poor people have suffered badly. We have to remember the fundamental principle of all taxation measures. It is necessary that steps must be taken to give relief to these poor people. The measure of taxation prevalent in our State has to be very carefully revised. By effecting certain economies and by bringing down expenditure, we should try to give such relief as is possible to all these people who are hard hit by the heavy incidence of taxation.

From the point of view of expenditure, we find that the amount for nation-building activities has gone up to Rs. 40 crores from Rs. 10 crores. Well, we shall be very happy if the benefits on account of this also had increased correspondingly. It is better if we analyse each figure and try to see whether there has been any appreciable return for what we are spending. We want every rupee spent by the Government to go the longest way. No doubt we are spending about Rs. 11 crores on Education. It is the largest single item of expenditure. We have about 38,500 elementary schools and 1,250 secondary schools. The position is this. Only one out of every five who pass out of the elementary school has the chance to enter a high school. After spending large sums of money on primary education, if there are no facilities for higher education, correspondingly all these children will lapse into illiteracy again. If the present system is to continue, I do not think we will be in a position to achieve much in the direction of the spread of literacy. It is absolutely necessary that there should be a real reorientation in our ideal of education. We have drawn up several plans. But the plans will be purposeful and successful, only when they are carried out and not when they are shelved. There is the Sargeant Scheme on Education. There are other schemes. There is the report of the University Commission presided over by Dr. Radhakrishnan. The National Planning Commission has said that the present system of education was meant for training clerks for the Government offices and even there, it has failed and is not producing efficient clerks. I say this because unless education is made free from all restrictions, we cannot hope to

[Sri T. Anantha Pai]

[4th July 1952]

achieve anything concrete. Why should we have costly buildings? Let them prescribe a standard and if a boy gets through an examination conducted by the authorities, then give him a certificate as they do for the London Matric or Senior Cambridge. We need not compel a boy to go to school. We shall see whether he possesses the standard of knowledge that we have prescribed. If we do this, a greater number of people can be, and will be, educated, and many of them will come up in life. Why should we not do some such thing? Why insist on an endowment of Rs. 30,000 for the purpose, and put up costly buildings? We must have correct ideals. My point is that the money that we spend must go for a good cause and must be used for a proper purpose. If we go on spending more and more money on education without corresponding progress in the field of literacy, of what earthly use can such a programme be? The Government are spending something like eleven crores of rupees. But it does not mean that only that much is being spent on education. I am sure that more than Rs. 20 crores are received by way of school fees from the students. Often, the management makes up any deficit. Sir, this is a very serious problem that is facing us. We cannot have a type of education that will be detrimental to public life. I do not know for how long we have to spend money like this on education without any appreciable results. However, a time will come when more and more money will have to be diverted to other and more important activities like public health and hospitals, and we may not be able to spend the same amount on Education then as we are spending now.

12-30
P.M.

"I will next come to the Public Works Department. As far as the Public Works Department is concerned, I must frankly say that what the Chief Minister said is to a very large extent correct. It is Enemy No. 2, as he himself put it. We have seen that we cannot confine ourselves to the estimates that are prepared and the works are not promptly executed. We see that the works that are sanctioned are not executed in time and that we are called upon to incur an increased expenditure. We are called upon to revise the Budget estimates. Let us look at the way in which we have handled the minor irrigation projects. What was our object in sanctioning these schemes? The object was to effect economies in our expenditure by stopping imports of foodgrains from abroad and by growing them in our own country. If these schemes are slowed down, what will be the result? I say that work should not be slowed down but should be expedited and completed, so that our food can be grown here itself and our food problem solved permanently. I must point out that a new outlook is necessary so far as these things are concerned.

"I have got to say something about my home district. Very often in this House I have heard something being asked for Andhradesa, something being asked for Tamilnad and so on. But poor Karnatak, because we are quiet, should not be understood as having no demands at all. Well, we can appreciate the position as it is and we do not want to make demands. That does

4th July 1952]

[Sri T. Anantha Pai]

not mean, we do not have demands at all to make. As a matter of fact, the State has been spending money everywhere and in spite of that, grievances are on the increase. Wherever big projects are undertaken we find lot of complaints against the Government that money is not spent properly. Some kind of grievance is always there. South Kanara has returned nine Congress candidates out of ten and Bellary has sent four out of five as all those who stood as Independents have joined the party. That does not mean we have no grievances. We have plenty of them. What I wish to point out is that we are conscious of our strength. We are conscious of our strength to press our case and get the grievances redressed. I do not want to repeat the demands of South Kanara over and over again. We know when the linguistic provinces are formed we will have our province and work it well.

"Then, Sir, we have one of the poorest means of communication in our district. I am particularly addressing the Hon. the Minister for Public Works. Our main difficulty is communication. We have a railway of only 60 miles for the whole district. At every fourth or sixth or seventh mile, we have got a river to cross—river with water on all the 365 days in the year unlike in the case of rivers in other parts of the State where, however, there are causeways which might be useful in the absence of bridges. We have been put to a lot of difficulty and the whole economic development of the district has been hampered because of these poor means of communication. The problem has not been solved. Very often it has been pointed out that we have been spending lot of money over bridges. But in South Kanara only one or two have been taken up. If the Government take into consideration all the money that they have spent in other districts all these years and try to give a fraction thereof to South Kanara for a period of two or three years, a few bridges could be built and our means of communication improved. I think that would solve our problem. We are told that there is equitable distribution of expenditure, that is, on the population basis. It is not our fault that we do not have a big population as compared with other districts. We do not want to be treated on that basis. We are asking for a bridge over a river with water and not over a river with no water like Palar. We want to see that the money you spend is spent well. We do not want to have concrete roads. We are patriotic enough to wait for luxuries. We want our simple requirements to be met. We have plenty of rainfall and, as a friend from Malabar said, much of the rain-water drains into the sea. We want facilities for the supply of electricity in our district. For a long time we have been expecting supply of electricity from Jog. Even though we had sacrificed some five villages of our district so that Jog could be developed, yet the agreement has not been entered into between the Government of Madras and the Government of Mysore. Whatever the reasons for the delay, it should not take any more time. If we had the advantage of an earlier supply of electricity, we would have improved our industrial wealth and gone ahead with agricultural development in the district. We

[Sri T. Anantha Pai]

[4th July 1952]

would have solved many of our problems. Why should the Government be so earnest about the Megadathu project alone? I may point out that there are seven rivers—big rivers in South Kanara—which flow from a height of 2,000 feet and which are capable of producing electricity on a large scale. They offer good scope for starting hydro-electric schemes. We have a river—Varahi—which is capable of giving 40,000 kilowatts as much as Megadathu promises. Why does not the Government investigate it?

“ These are some of the problems that I wanted to place before the House. I know the limitations of time and, therefore, I do not wish to go into more details. I generally commend to all the Members of the House that these Budget proposals, as things stand, are quite sound and have to be supported.”

* SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want first to tell the House that the Budget as now presented to us is completely unsatisfactory. Not only has there been a leakage of the proposals before the presentation of the Budget to us but the whole thing seems to me to be leaky. The proposal is to tax the people of this State again to the extent of three crores of rupees. It has been explained to us that under the National Plan, it is necessary to raise five crores of rupees every year, four crores by means of taxation and one crore by economizing expenditure. May I ask the hon. Gentlemen sitting opposite what is the extent to which they have been able to economize this year? What efforts they have made, I ask, in order to save one crore of rupees by reducing expenditure? On the contrary, the Ministers are asking for greater and greater sacrifices on the part of the people. The people cannot bear any more the increasing burden and I am afraid the breaking point will be reached sooner than we expect.

“ Coming to the measures of taxation one by one, let me take up first the surcharge on land tax. I want to draw the attention of this honourable House to the fact that the proposals are not new ones but were before the former Ministry. These were made by the Subramanyam Committee of which the Hon. the Finance Minister also was a member, if I remember aright. Its recommendations, as far as I remember, are that all people who pay below Rs. 150 should be exempted from any surcharge, people who pay between Rs. 150 and Rs. 250 should pay a surcharge of $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas in the rupee, people who pay from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500, three annas per rupee, people who pay from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000, four annas per rupee, those who pay between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,500, six annas per rupee and those who pay above Rs. 2,500, eight annas per rupee. That was the sliding scale suggested by the Committee. At present what is the rate of tax suggested? Those who pay Rs. 50 and below are sought to be exempted and those who pay above Rs. 1,000 are expected to be surcharged a rupee per rupee. It begins with four annas first instead of $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas suggested by the Committee. Who are these people who are required to be surcharged? People who own three acres of land,

4th July 1952]

[Sri S. T. Adityan]

wet land. The tax per acre of wet land is about Rs. 19 in Tirunelveli district. So peoples who own only an extent of three acres of land have now to pay this surcharge."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" If it is three acres it falls well within the limit of exemption."

* SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—" But if he owns one cent more he is surcharged. It applies not only to individuals but to members of a joint family also. Suppose there is a joint family consisting of three brothers and the family owns three acres or a little more of land. Each brother might be owning only an acre in actual practice and he will be required to pay the surcharge. Therefore, this exemption is really illusory and not real. It is no exemption at all.

" I shall rapidly run over the other taxes. Firstly, the taxes on road traffic. There are two taxes sought to be levied here. You will remember, Sir, when Gandhiji preached decontrol and made the Provincial Governments agree to it, they tried to work it but found that the greatest bottleneck was transport. They were unable to find enough number of wagons to transport grains from one place to another. When the matter was reported to Gandhiji, he suggested a very simple solution. He said that the bottleneck could be got over only if we allowed buses and lorries to carry a little load of grains. He said, ' liberalize lorry traffic; why do you restrict the supply of petrol; liberalize petrol rationing and passenger traffic, and everything will be all right.' He made pointed reference to the lorry and bus service plying between Delhi and another place, whose income was about Rs. 10,000 per year or so. Sir, if we improve bus traffic by promoting free competition, our problems will be easily solved. Instead of that, what do we find now? Further restrictions are sought to be placed on road traffic. One of them is the Petrol Tax, i.e., sales-tax on petrol. Sir, a Central Committee, called the Motor Vehicles Taxation Enquiry Committee presided over by Mr. Dalal, went into the question of taxation of road traffic in 1950. It has said in paragraph 32 (i) of its report that on the total investment of railways, the Union Government receives a certain amount by carrying one ton a mile. Let us take that as the unit.

" Let us now consider the revenue derived by the State Government and the Central Government by way of taxation on road transport. The Committee has come to the conclusion that the road transport pays about double the amount of revenue derived from rail transport. Sir, there was another Central Committee, the Road-Rail Relations Committee of 1943. It went into the question of the economics of road traffic. It took into account the amount of money invested by the State and the Central Government on roads and railways, and worked out the amount received by them by way of taxation on road traffic. They came to the conclusion that if the Government levied 25 per cent of the tax that they are now levying on road transport, it would have given

12-45
P.M.

[Sri S. T. Adityan]

[4th July 1952]

them a sufficient return on the capital invested by both the Governments. Therefore we received four times the interest that we would otherwise receive on our investments. That is the present outturn on our investment on roads. Add to it the present increase in the tax on road transport, viz., increase of one pie in the fare per mile. Add to it the taxation on motor spirit (instead of four annas it is six annas now). For these reasons, I submit the taxation on road transport has already reached the limit.

" May I submit one more thing in this connection? Supposing that all these taxes are reasonable, may I not ask the Government to pay more attention to road development? Is the revenue derived from this source devoted entirely to road development and maintenance? Then there might be some justification for this taxation. As it is there is no relation between the sum derived as revenue from roads and the amount spent on road development and maintenance. The roads in this State are in a pitiable condition. It is true that the road mileage in this State is a little more than most other States. But the condition of the roads of this State is not comparable to those in some of the neighbouring States. I recommend to the Government that the condition of the roads must be improved so that the food decontrol process could be worked more efficiently.

" Sir, I want to say a word or two on the General Sales Tax. In Bengal, sales-tax is levied only at one point. Here we have a multi-point sales-tax. Every time you buy you pay sales-tax. So, goods do not change hands easily and trade is hampered."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—" Is it Bengal or Bombay? "

* SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—" Bengal, Sir. I do not know about Bombay. There is another thing which we on this side have always pressed on the Government. We have been condemning the levy of sales-tax on food. Even according to the spirit of the Constitution this tax seems to be bad. You may call it general sales-tax or give it any name; it is a tax on food all the same. It increases the price of food as tax is collected every time food articles change hands. Therefore this tax on food should be removed immediately.

" Regarding the policy of Prohibition, the United Democratic Front is not committed either way. My own view in the matter is that it cannot prove an immediate success. That man is sorely mistaken who thinks that Prohibition could be made a success by punishing some people. These habitual addicts have got a way of getting their drink. They will steal, go to Pondicherry or illicitly manufacture arrack. It is not possible to prevent them from getting their drink. You can possibly succeed if you can prevent their children from becoming addicts to drink. The true yardstick to measure your success is the extent to which the younger generation is prevented from becoming addicts. Therefore the question we pose before the Government is, 'on the facts

4th July 1952]

[Sri S. T. Adityan]

that are now available are we sure that the younger generation are not becoming addicts to drink? I have gone into the facts myself, and my finding is that the younger generation are not taking to toddy, or arrack but they are taking to a new kind of drink, the so-called culinary essences. Millions and millions of rupees worth of these essences are being sold in every district. Have the Government investigated this fact? Have they satisfied themselves that these essences are used only in the kitchen? I say they are not used in the kitchen; they are used by young men going about the streets with a cigarette in their hands, and perhaps a bottle of the essence in their pockets. If the Government are not able to prevent this, the policy of Prohibition is not going to be a success. Fortunately for us we have got more than half the population of this State, or even of the whole of India, who do not drink. I refer to women, the guardians of Prohibition. They want to see that their children do not drink. But if the Government allow the children to take to this essence, what would become of their Prohibition policy? That is why we have not committed ourselves either way. We are watching the situation carefully. If this state of affairs should continue, then we will have no hesitation in pronouncing that Prohibition has become a failure."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I would remind hon. Members that on Fridays it is the practice to adjourn at 1 o'clock."

* SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—" Then, Sir, the Hon. Finance Minister in submitting his budget proposals had something to say about the State trading schemes."

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISAMI GOUNDER :—" The hon. Member said 50 per cent of the population of women were guardians. Is it on the total population or is it on the population of women? "

* SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—" I might have corrected myself then itself. I might have said a little more than 50 per cent of the entire population because women are a little more than 50 per cent of the population in some places. I wanted to say that they were the bulwark of Prohibition."

" Regarding State trading schemes, the Hon. the Finance Minister seemed to be a little apologetic. It seemed almost a confession that the State trading as carried on in this State was not a profitable proposition but a failure. If I remember aright, the Hon. Minister who took over the bus transport in Madras expected some revenue would come to the coffers of the State Government. It began slowly to be mentioned, now and then, that the bus transport was yielding a profit. Then it began to dwindle. Then it was converted into a question of providing amenities to passengers and not a question of profit. I do not know to what extent they have come down now. But they have now a definite policy that this question of nationalization of bus transport will not be

[Sri S. T. Adityan]

[4th July 1952]

extended to other districts. I want to impress upon the Government that this nationalization of bus transport is working at a loss. It would have been far more profitable if the Government had invested the money on some other industry which others would not be able to run. Are there not many such industries which are absolutely essential to the State but which private enterprise cannot start and run? I can give a number of them. For instance is it not possible to start a factory which will produce photographic cameras and chemicals? Is it not possible to produce them here? We can start cement factories and produce enough cement to meet the requirements of the people. We can even export to other countries, such as Malaya which obtains its supplies of cement from Japan. We have sufficient quantities of lime stone in our country which are now used for road metal. Have not the Hon. Ministers sitting on the Treasury Benches enough imagination to think that they can invest their money more usefully on the lignite deposits? Only a little more imagination and careful study are necessary. Co-ordinated effort is necessary to think about these things and to invest the money in such a way that it would bring profit to the State. As it is, the whole thing is managed in a way that brings only loss to the State."

MR. SPEAKER:—"How many minutes more does the hon. Member want?"

SRI S. T. ADITYAN:—"I would like to have ten more minutes, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"If the House is willing I would allow the hon. Member to speak for ten more minutes."

SRI S. T. ADITYAN:—"Personally I would like to speak tomorrow."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The House will now adjourn and meet again at 8-30 a.m. on Saturday, 5th July 1952."

The House then adjourned.